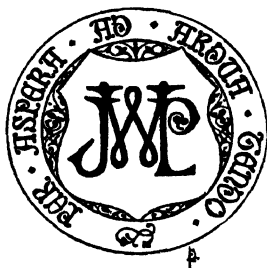


STUDIES AND ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE
GREAT REBELLION.

BY
JOHN LANGTON SANFORD,
OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

"History comes like a beggarly gleaner in the field, after Death, the great lord of the domain, has gathered the crop with his mighty hand, and lodged it in his garner, which no man can open."—GODWIN.



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P R E F A C E.

THE present volume embodies some of the results of a course of historical investigation commenced more than fifteen years ago.

My attention was then drawn to the great discrepancy in the estimates of the character of Oliver Cromwell in the pages of the historical authorities of that day. Being quite at a loss to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions as to the facts on which they based their several judgments of the Protector, I resolved to make for myself as complete a collection as possible of his letters, arranging them in chronological order, as a backbone to any farther investigations into his character. Having access to the library of the British Museum, I found this a less difficult but more extensive task than I had anticipated. Besides the standard books on the subject, such works as county histories and the early volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Annual Register* and the printed papers of the Antiquarian Society supplied me with not a few neglected records of interest; and the MSS. collections in the Museum yielded a rich additional harvest. At the end of two years I had thus brought together about 300 letters, published and unpublished, and had read through and re-punctuated into some sense most of the Protector's printed speeches. Of course

illustrative reading and research on the points which thus presented themselves were not neglected, and the general result was a clear conviction that the theory of Cromwell's hypocrisy and selfish ambition was devoid of all support in the real facts.

I had carried my studies thus far when, in 1845, the publication of Mr. Carlyle's collection of the *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell* gave me the results of a similar but independent course of inquiry, and confirmed me in my previous conclusion. Of course this collection contained several letters which were new to me, and, on the other hand, I found that it did *not* include a considerable number which it had been my good fortune to light upon, and gave others in a less perfect and authentic form. As some of these letters of mine were very interesting, I communicated the fact of their existence to Mr. Carlyle, and placed them at his disposal. They were accordingly included in his second edition (1846), with some other discoveries which I had made in the meantime, such as Cromwell's answer to the Clonmacnoise Manifesto.

For the next year or two professional studies left me little time for historical pursuits; but I never lost sight entirely of the object which I had originally proposed to myself. At this point of time family vicissitudes altered altogether my prospects and intended career, and I was led to revert to my old studies, with the hope of being able to mould my previous investigations into a work which might be supplementary to Mr. Carlyle's volumes, and afford a critical refutation of the large mass of calumnious anecdote which still passed for history even in works of such general value and authority as Mr. Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*. These new investigations made me thoroughly acquainted with the contents of D'Ewes' MS. *Journal of the Long Parliament*, preserved in the British Museum Library;

and I then found that the Lives of Pym, Hampden, and many others of that time required re-writing quite as much as that of Cromwell. My labours were thus prolonged over an unexpected space of time.

In 1848, through the courtesy of the late Dr. Buckland and the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, I had an opportunity of examining and making extracts from the *Tanner MSS.* in the Bodleian Library; and the next year the Rt. Hon. Maziere Brady—then Lord Chancellor of Ireland—procured me access, through the late Sir William Betham, to the forgotten council-books of the Cromwells and the Commonwealth in the Record Tower of Dublin Castle. To the Rev. Dr. Todd and several other gentlemen my acknowledgments are also due for their courtesy in admitting me to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the various record offices in that city. I drew attention to the neglected condition and contents of the Irish council-books in some papers communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, then under the able editorship of Mr. John Bruce.

My new materials, however, had so enlarged my original plan, that when, in 1850, I went through the usual ordeal with the London publishers, they shrank from incurring any risk in such a speculation, and my MS. was consigned again to the shelves, where it slumbered peacefully for the next five years. I then made another and equally unsuccessful attempt to bring it before the public in a reduced and modified form. I should, perhaps, have accepted this last judgment as final, if the publication of Mr. Forster's *Historical Essays*, in the present year, had not called my attention to the fact that I had already lost the credit of historical discoveries in which I had anticipated that gentleman by several years; and I accordingly considered that, in justice to myself, I ought no longer to delay placing before the public some portion of my labours, leaving in their hands the

decision of the question whether or not the remainder should follow in due course of time.

To prevent misapprehension, I may state that the form originally adopted was that of a *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, and that this was subsequently changed for the plan now employed. The volume merely reproduces in another form *some* of the matter contained in the MS. of 1850. My acquaintance with the real proceedings on the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford dates from the summer of 1847.

My obligations to the authorities of the British Museum will be at once seen, and are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

J. LANGTON SANFORD.

2, Brick Court, Temple,
August the 18th, 1858.

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ERRATA.

Page 101, fourth line of second paragraph, *for* conformable *read* compatible.

Page 278, second column, *for* OXFORD *read* ORFORD.

STUDIES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

THE GREAT REBELLION.

I.

FROM TUDOR TO STUART.

THERE is, perhaps, in the whole chronicle of history, nothing more remarkable, and at first sight more unaccountable, than the position among European nations occupied by England during the sixteenth century. We are so apt to associate inseparably with the name of our country those numerous sources of power and reputation which have been the gradual acquisitions of a long period of growing prosperity, that it escapes our notice that many years before the Kingdom of England swelled to the dimensions of the British Empire, it had been universally recognised as a first-rate European power. Destitute of outlying colonial possessions—stripped of its French provinces—watched and menaced by a rival kingdom in the same island—garrisoning rather than governing Ireland—hardly itself emerged from a long and bloody civil war—still agitated by questions of succession to the crown—deprived, by the course of social and political events, of its feudal militia, and without the substitute of a regular standing army—dependent even for the strength of its navy chiefly on the patriotic enthusiasm of the moment,—the England of Henry VIII., nevertheless, stood on a level with the greatest of the continental empires, and the England of Elizabeth obtained among them a foremost place. How shall we account for a result so extraordinary?

Many causes may be assigned which, in various degrees, contributed to this end; perhaps they are nearly all reducible

to the national character itself, as expressed and formed by the national institutions, and by the congenial temperament of its Tudor princes. If we look to more strictly ultimate causes, we shall trace the fortunate destiny of England to a succession and mutual relation of events, and the conscious and unconscious operation of a variety of human motives, in which, if anywhere in the records of history, the hand of a superintending Providence may be clearly discerned. The solid and sluggish Anglo-Saxon, with his practical good sense and perseverance, and his unaspiring self-occupation degenerating into self-indulgence, was roused into bolder enterprises and wider views of national life and duty by the restless and untameable Danish blood, and the fiery, keen, organized acquisitiveness of the Norman; while he, in his turn, tempered the desultory energies and irregular freedom of the one, and the unscrupulous eagerness of the other, by an infusion of *routine* habits and social responsibilities, and by the restraints of a far-sighted caution and instinctive honesty. Thus constituted, the Englishman was placed in a country in which the memory of Roman civilization and of the ancient dignity of Roman citizenship was not wholly extinct, and in which the traditions of Celtic valour and hospitality had been revived again, in an exaggerated form, by the enemies of the descendants of Cerdic. In his career of conquest the Anglo-Saxon invader effectually broke down the provincial dependency on Rome, and substituted for the enervating influences of a foreign and demoralized despotism a rude but home-spun system of self-government. The Danish rover next compelled England, in self-defence, to assert her maritime supremacy; and when peacefully established on her soil, became the pioneer of her future commerce. He swept away the territorial obstacles to national greatness, only bowing to the supremacy of the princes of Wessex when he had subdued and amalgamated to their hands the rival kingdoms of the Heptarchy. That unity which the Dane created territorially the Norman effected politically and socially. Upon the ruins of the class-privileges and disabilities of the Saxon his conqueror erected the elaborate structure of feudalism, with its personal gradations of rank and its personal relations

between superior and inferior, linking together the whole of society in one vast chain of mutual protection and obligations, and placing every member of it immediately or mediately in individual relations with the sovereign. While thus enabled to grasp rapidly and firmly, on any emergency, the whole of the national resources of wealth and energy, the king was, by a rare combination of circumstances, prevented from turning them against the rising liberties of the nation. When, after the Norman Conquest, the first William scattered his distributions of land among his followers over every portion of England, so as to prevent, as far as possible, the growth of independent countships or duchies in the heart of the kingdom, he had probably before his eyes the state of England in the reign of Edward the Confessor, when the power of the great landed thanes overshadowed and eclipsed that of the crown, and when the family of one greatthane successfully aspired to the heirship of the throne. The Conqueror saw, in this politic subdivision of the land, only a method of securing the authority of the crown against the aggressions of its great vassals. He could not have imagined, what is apparent to ourselves, that by thus acting he was really laying the foundation of a state of society which would eventually create the most efficient bulwarks against the encroachments of the crown. Unable to isolate themselves in great and independent duchies, the barons of England were drawn together as a national council around the king; and an *esprit-de-corps* thus grew up among them which at once supplied that counteracting influence to the royal authority which William had endeavoured to dissipate, and supplied it, not in the name and behalf of one great lord, but as the representative of the whole feudal array of the kingdom, and for the defence of common national interests. While feudalism was in the ascendant, and while through its successive links the immediate feudal lords were the natural chiefs of the nation, the great council of barons fitly and adequately represented the English people. But when feudalism decayed, and other interests grew up outside its pale—when especially the policy of the crown and the growth of commerce, concurrently with the increase of the wants of a

more advanced stage of society, had raised to extraordinary prosperity the cities and boroughs,—the encroachments of tyrannical princes rendered it advisable for the great barons to appeal for assistance to the mediate vassals (the gentry) and the middle classes of England. The loss of their possessions in France made Englishmen of these powerful lords; while the distraction of the attention and resources of the English monarchs to the recovery of the French provinces and the conquest of Scotland, gave time for the newly-formed league between the upper and middle classes to attain consistency and experience, and control the expenditure of the crown under the form of two Houses of Parliament. A national interest in national affairs was thus preserved and extended through all the influential classes of England, and a government was established in which the House of Commons held the balance and preserved the equilibrium between the crown and the aristocracy without itself possessing that excessive amount of power which might bring upon it the combined assault of the other branches. Thus the English Constitution grew up to a powerful maturity, and the influence of all three bodies within the walls of Parliament represented most happily their position without.

The effect of the national spirit thus created and sustained on the reputation of England in foreign countries was extraordinary. The martial renown of the country was raised to a high pitch, and its commercial ascendancy was permanently secured. The personal gallantry of our Anglo-Norman kings, and the chivalric qualities of the great princes who contended with the House of Valois for the sceptre of France, were fostered, if not actually produced, by those national influences in the midst of which they had been brought up. As leaders of so high-spirited and indomitable a race of warriors, their achievements and those of their followers soon became widely known. The Crusades carried the name of England and her soldiers into the remotest corners of the East; and the superiority acquired by the English monarchs on these occasions over the rival sovereigns of the West contributed not a little to the position which this country subsequently assumed in European estimation. The age of chivalry brought into still

more striking and favourable contrast the military array of England with that of the Continent. Independently of the individual feats of arms of the knights and esquires of England in those dangerous contests of the 'flower of European chivalry' which lent lustre to every court-festival, the recollection was not soon lost of those fields of glory in which the vast armies of France succumbed to that impenetrable and irresistible phalanx in which English baron, burgher, and yeoman fought side by side, inspired by one common national interest. The name of England became associated in the mind of Europe with the idea of military superiority, without regard to her comparative territorial insignificance. At the same time she drew to her shores, as to a secure and profitable mart, all the commercial activity of the civilized world. The quick-witted merchants of foreign countries were not slow in discovering that in England, more than in any country, commerce was placed under the guardianship of the law, and was preserved alike from the rude rapine of the great lords and from the arbitrary tallages of the crown. With security to their goods, justice to their commercial obligations became possible to our merchants and traders, and the credit of England soon stood as high among the merchants as her valour among the princes and soldiers of Europe. With good credit came wealth, and with this an increase in the comforts of life; so that the household magnificence of these singular islanders became as proverbial on the Continent as the freedom enjoyed by all classes was a subject of observation with every traveller. Of course most of these advantages were but comparative, and even in that point of view were somewhat exaggerated; still they combined to give to England at the commencement of the sixteenth century her leading position in Europe.

But there was also another cause—the personal character of the princes of the House of Tudor, and their anomalous position with respect to the English Constitution. They were the absolute monarchs of a free people. The constitutional liberties of Englishmen, achieved during a long struggle against the power of the crown, were at length undisputed by the sovereign; yet the king's prerogative was at its most

extended limits, and was never before so cheerfully acquiesced in by the nation. It is difficult for any but contemporaries to entirely fathom the causes of this anomaly; and contemporaries were, as we may easily understand, almost unconscious of its existence. Some explanation, however, may be given, and some definite propositions established. We may say at once, then, that there was scarcely an occasion, down to the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, on which any strong wish of the crown was thwarted by opposition in Parliament or in the body of the nation. Such exceptions as occur serve partially to explain this remarkable fact, and to corroborate the next assertion which we may make, that the English Constitution never lost during this period its substantially free character, and that the English people were never other than practically free. Were this not so, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to explain the abrupt transition to a state of abject slavery from one of long-cherished and deeply-rooted liberty. It must be remembered that, ever since the memorable contest which produced the first great charter of constitutional freedom, the nation, under various leaders, had been engaged in a nearly continuously successful struggle. Immunity from taxation, except through a parliamentary channel—privilege of Parliament, securing to its members the right of free speech and personal protection from the consequences of their free speaking—ministerial responsibility, and the right of parliamentary impeachment,—had been successively wrung from the necessities of the sovereign; and the first, at least, had been firmly established. The most crafty and the most warlike kings had alike bowed to this national power. In four reigns armed insurrection had successfully defied the power of the crown: twice had a sovereign been solemnly deposed from the throne; once had a dynasty been erected on a parliamentary basis; and again and again had the validity of that title and the pretensions of its rival been the subject of debates and acts of Parliament. The House of Tudor reigned by a parliamentary rather than an hereditary title, and was supported through its early years against the more 'legitimate' pretensions of the inheritors of the House of

York by the national will alone. Many of the sources from which constitutional liberty derived her sustenance had been largely swollen with the increasing prosperity of the people. Serfdom had nearly disappeared, and the ranks of the middle classes were every year strengthened by accessions from those beneath. The power of the pen was beginning to be felt, and literature was already aspiring to become the guardian of the national interests as well as the educator of the national taste. The first throes of the forthcoming religious birth were already felt, and the national mind was fermenting with fresh materials of thought and action. This was not the time when we should anticipate a national degradation under a yoke which less-instructed ages had abhorred and broken. At any rate, we should expect to find some great and significant revolution interposing between the reigns of the later Plantagenets and the earlier Tudors, and sweeping away the ancient liberties of the nation. No such event took place; but the social revolution which actually occurred is sufficient to explain in a great measure the political results which are at first sight so bewildering. One great depository and organ of the national interests, and one member of the Parliament had been annihilated. The great barons of England had disappeared during the civil wars of the Red and White Roses.

The actual slaughter of peers of Parliament on the battlefield had been very great; and of those who escaped from the dangers of open combat, many perished by the hand of the executioner or assassin. Whole families were exterminated; others were reduced to a few younger branches, glad to purchase safety by the obscurity of a lower rank. Where families still continued to exist, they frequently ceased to be 'families' in the technical acceptance of the term. Stripped of a large portion of their estates, or ruined by heavy fines, the representatives of the Plantagenet barons were soon lost in the mass of the population, and in a generation or two their historic names subsided into the unhonoured catalogue of traders and menials. New laws, and an astute and rigorous application of old ones, destroyed a large portion of the old entails, and facilitated in numerous

ways the transference of landed property. A new 'gentry' arose, principally drawn from prosperous traders, independent yeomen, and wealthy tenantry, who purchased the freeholds of their lands on the downfall of their baronial landlords. These were augmented by the 'new men,' upon whom royal favour bestowed grants of the confiscated estates of the older aristocracy, and who were frequently drawn from the lowest ranks of the people. From the new class thus formed the leaders of the House of Commons would thenceforth be naturally derived. Shrewd practical men of business, they brought to their new sphere of action admirable qualifications for quietly working the political machine, but little capacity for, or appreciation of, broader constitutional questions. In their previous thriving career the majority of them had been conversant chiefly with the special incidents of one narrow walk of life, and in their subordinate position had felt but indirectly the throbbings of the great constitutional struggle. They accepted the Constitution as the Tudors themselves did, as the settled order of things, the result of the 'wisdom of their ancestors,' which by their feudal or family traditions they were bound to defend; and a majority of them entertained a vague apprehension of the possible consequences of a direct and uncloaked violation of its provisions. But they had not participated in the counsels which achieved the various steps of its consolidation, and were incapable of appreciating the insidious approaches of old dangers in new shapes. Few of them were disposed to scrutinize suspiciously the actions or motives of the crown; most of them were inclined to regard favourably anything proceeding from that quarter. The aggrandized merchant or tradesman had a fresh remembrance of the charters and other privileges which the policy of recent sovereigns had granted to the boroughs as the price of their allegiance in times of civil struggle. The 'Wars of the Roses' had (thanks to the wise forbearance of both parties) left the towns in comparative tranquillity. The struggle had been one of the great barons and their retainers, and its results had been acquiesced in by the towns (with the exception of one or two of the greatest, such as London and York) with equanimity and

indifference. They had continued to flourish in the midst of civil anarchy, and had fallen back more and more on their old Saxon local life and self-government, regarding the king as the head of the state, and not troubling themselves about his particular name or pretensions. Still they must have experienced considerable inconvenience from the proximity of victorious and beaten armies, and from the interrupted communication between town and town. The Tudors, therefore, were welcomed by them as abaters of a public nuisance; and they were willing to overlook stretches of royal prerogative (whenever conscious of them), if exercised in the cause of repressive order and in curbing aristocratic insolence, and not avowedly with despotic objects or attended with personal privations to themselves. The 'new men,' in gratitude for past, and in the hope of future favours, were bent on furthering all royal projects. The enfranchised tenantry looked to the peerage as their next step; and with the anxious and restless consciousness of *parvenus*, felt that every accession to the royal dignity and power would lend additional stability and consideration to their own *status*. What could the broken and reduced 'following' of the old families and the older freeholders effect in this tide of politic loyalty? They were, for the most part, too busily engaged in endeavouring to secure or mend their own fortunes, to pay much attention to nicer constitutional questions. The old tie between the Houses of Parliament was broken, and the House of Commons had become a pliant tool in the hands of the crown. The close connexion between the old barons and the Commons has been little remarked. From the time of Edward III., at any rate, the House of Lords had endeavoured to control the deliberations of the Commons, by an infusion of their own vassals into the Lower House. A system of interference with elections had sprung up; and, naturally enough, the overshadowing power of the neighbouring baron had been usually sufficient to determine the decision of the borough. Hence the great families were represented in both Houses, and were guided in their consultations, to a great extent, by a common policy. The family and retainers of 'the Nevile' and 'the Clifford' occupied no small portion of the benches

in the one House, while their chiefs sat in the other. But with their downfall the boroughs reverted for a time to their independence, or fell under the influence of crown favourites, or became marketable to crown officials. Thus not only was one House of Parliament winnowed, but the leading element in the other was converted from an instrument of aristocratic, to one of royal, aggrandizement. One fraction, indeed, of the Upper House survived the accession of the House of Tudor, which (however enfeebled by want of co-operation) might have preserved to some extent the germs of an independent authority.

The church, with her baronial bishops and abbots, still stood erect, and, to an outward observer, as strong as ever. In her preferments the upper and lower classes had long found a common field of ambition. Drawn from both, she had successfully mediated between them, and had frequently been their powerful ally against the crown. Her peculiar and undefined relation to Rome, distasteful in other respects to the national pride, had, nevertheless, given her a certain independent position with reference to the crown. She had no longer, it is true, her Becket to beard a king in the plenitude of his power; but the tradition of the spirit which animated Becket long survived its practical embodiment. Supported by the state, yet independent of state control to the utmost extent compatible with the free spirit inherent in the nation, she occupied in the persons of her most distinguished members some of the highest posts in the civil government. The struggles of the Lollards had lost their former significance in the country; and, instead of being able to rely on the support of a party in the Houses of Parliament, and a prince of the reigning family, the existence of that heresy was only revealed by the public executions by which it was most injudiciously attempted to extirpate its remaining adherents. Some disgust had begun to be excited in the popular mind by the frequent recurrence to that convenient form of argument; but this compassionate feeling did not assume a character which would have justified the most sanguine Lollard in regarding it as an omen of the approaching downfall of his oppressor, until other grievances were thrown

into the balance. The state of many of the religious houses, and the irregular and dissolute conduct of the clergy, had roused the attention of the Holy See itself; and as long as hope of reformation from that quarter remained, public indignation was to some degree suspended. The disagreement between the ecclesiastical and civil powers, as to the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the common law, terminated for a time in a compromise, which showed the vast power still possessed by the church, and the danger to individuals of an opposition to her wishes. Still subsequent events proved that her security and strength were more apparent than real. It was an unfavourable symptom that she should have been obliged to exhibit the full extent of her power to secure her victory. Defeat under such circumstances was only an incentive to renewed exertion on the part of the defeated; and all hopes of allaying discontent speedily disappeared. No amelioration took place in the conduct of the clergy, and indignation against them naturally led to distrust of their authority and doctrines. The stern followers of Wickliffe then met with a more favourable ear, and the spirit of Lollardism almost imperceptibly gained ground in the hearts of the people. That this ill-feeling towards the church, smouldering under the apparently firm surface of English society, did not sooner burst into a flame throughout the land, was owing in a great measure to the changed character of the Houses of Parliament which has been already spoken of. The House of Lords now contained a new nobility, gradually created by the Tudors, whose claim to promotion arose from personal services to the sovereign, and who, therefore, in each reign, partook in their origin of the policy pursued by the particular monarch. Attainders and confiscations were the groundwork of most of their fortunes; and with the body of the nation they possessed little sympathy. In constant attendance on the court, they lost the hold of their predecessors on the local affections of the people. Their property speedily dissipated in reckless expenditure, they became more and more dependent on royal bounty for support; while the vicissitudes of their fortunes, under the frowns and smiles of royal caprice, effectually prevented them

from assuming the character of a permanent and significant estate of the realm. It is evident that from this mushroom nobility no murmur would be heard against ecclesiastical abuses until the king first gave the signal. The House of Commons, we have seen, was similarly at the beck of the crown; and he must have been a bold man indeed who would have ventured to initiate such a discussion, with the terrors of excommunication before his eyes, and without far more powerful support than the feeble approval of such an assembly. Nor in the nation at large was there any great inclination, or, indeed, any organization to enter on an enterprise of so novel a character as a single-handed contest with the church. In short, the king alone was in a position to take the initiative on this occasion, and be the exponent of public opinion. If assured, indeed, of the reverence and respect of the mass of the population, the church might have safely defied the utmost anger of the Tudors; but having once lost these, she was at their mercy. Henry VIII., during the early part of his reign, had, with one exception, supported the cause of the church. That one exception should have warned the court of Rome on what basis rested her protection from the English monarch. It was when, from the decision of the judges of England who represented the justice of the king, Cardinal Wolsey suggested that an appeal should be made to the Holy See. Henry, who felt that his royal dignity was thus encroached upon, rejected the counsel in very significant language. Again the court of Rome crossed the feelings of the king on a more strictly personal question, though with more specious reason; and then, when he had taken the initiative against the church, it appeared how wide-spread and deep-rooted had been the ill-feeling towards much of the Roman-catholic ecclesiastical system, and how little, when the Pope's authority was in danger, that potentate could rely on the support of the nation. The overthrow of the church of Rome, which followed, added new power to the already exorbitant prerogative of the king. Wealth, lands, patronage, a fresh sphere of authority where men had hitherto most implicitly obeyed, were at once added to the crown of Henry. Is it to be wondered at, under these circumstances, that,

without any overt encroachment by the Tudors on the limitations of the Constitution, they should have virtually enjoyed an absolute authority?

But, great as this authority was, it could not have been wielded by any princes less sagacious than the Tudors without provoking an opposition in the nation which would have proved fatal to its continuance. Indeed, it was on the character of the Tudor princes themselves, and the manner in which they appreciated the sources and tacit conditions of their extended prerogative, that this royal absolutism after all really rested; and by this alone can its tolerance be at all reconciled with the free spirit of the nation. The Tudors, more especially Henry VIII. and his greater daughter Elizabeth, with a strongly-marked character and will of their own, thoroughly appreciated the spirit of the nation, and participated sufficiently in some of its leading characteristics to command the national confidence and sympathy. Personally brave, they did not appeal in vain to the respect always paid by the people to animal courage. Crafty and dissembling, they had wisdom enough to prevent the nation from ever imagining that it was itself the subject of their deceit. Not unfrequently mean in individual cases, they were generous in the eye of the public. Arrogant and overbearing where a display of such feelings was likely to override opposition, they had a keen perception of cases where insolence would be indignantly resented, and carefully avoided any such doubtful collisions. These are less pleasing features of their character. But they had also, along with their personal selfishness, a strongly *English* feeling, which made them identify the elevation of their country with their own glory. This feeling lent a dignity to their very vanity. It was the *English* Harry and Elizabeth who prided themselves on being the handsomest and stateliest, as well as the wisest of European sovereigns. With the royal magnificence and frank courtesy of the Celtic monarchs, whose blood they boasted of inheriting, they combined the proud patriotism of the Anglo-Norman kings. Under their auspices the reputation of England should never be lowered; nor in their persons should her dignity be insulted or slighted. National dis-

grace was to them equivalent to personal degradation ; nor to obtain their most cherished personal wish would either of these princes stoop to national dishonour. In their bearing to the people there was the same mixture of dignity and state-craft that characterized their dealings with foreign states. They could at once rebuke without offending, and yield without humiliation. With this princely demeanour was combined, in both Henry and Elizabeth, a gay and even boisterous affability to those about them. The king and queen of England lived as the personal and confidential friends of their courtiers and nobles, and in the midst of their subjects of every rank. Neither was inaccessible to the lowest Englishman, and their courtesy to all classes won more deference to the royal authority than could have been secured by any alteration in the letter of the Constitution. It was by thus bringing their own personal character to bear immediately on the popular mind, by making themselves the embodiments and representatives of the popular will, and by carefully accommodating the general bent of their policy to the dominant feelings of the nation, that the Tudors contrived to exercise without dispute their enlarged authority. They avoided all collision with popular prejudices, and as much as possible abstained from violation of the forms of the Constitution. They preferred making the nation itself an instrument in the carrying out of their most arbitrary proceedings. They preferred, as a general rule, acts of Parliament to acts in council. They struck at individuals, and not at laws or institutions. In general, indeed, we may say, that under the Tudors, and especially Elizabeth, public privileges and laws were respected, but the rights of individuals were subject to unjust aggressions. In most cases where the prerogative she exercised stepped beyond the limits of the former, we shall find this encroachment was rather permissive than assumed as of right—personal, rather than attached to the idea of the office. In fact, the faults of Elizabeth's government were those of democratic, or, as they are sometimes called, 'popular' governments. Where public sympathy, or a feeling of public rights, could be enlisted in the cause of the individual, he was secure from

attacks on his liberty, and practically lived under a strictly limited monarchy; where he was, by circumstances or his own character, removed from the shelter of these, he lived in a state of liberty which depended greatly on the will of an absolute, but not on the whole tyrannical, monarch.

These characteristics of the Tudors and their government apply more particularly to Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; but also in a less degree to the other sovereigns of that family. Henry VII. and Mary were indeed wanting in the more genial features of this picture, and consequently (if they avoided any great unpopularity) did not rouse any very enthusiastic feelings of attachment on their behalf. In Henry VII. the caution and reserve dictated by the perils and vicissitudes of his early life, gave an undue prominence to the less-pleasing Tudor peculiarities. But there was a grave, self-possessed dignity in his government, which was eminently calculated to compose the troubled surface of society. Mary, unfortunately, by the circumstances of her mother's divorce, was bound up irretrievably with the prejudices and wrongs of a particular party, and the abortive attempt on the part of the protestant oligarchy of the reign of Edward to exclude her from the throne, embittered her at the outset against the faith of which they were the leaders, and narrowed still more an intellect already more intense than wide. But in great emergencies Mary showed a truly royal spirit, worthy of the greatest of the Tudors. It was her own determination and spirit which really secured her succession and preserved her throne through a short but troubled reign. Her conduct in the crisis of Wyatt's insurrection calls forth the just admiration of the chronicler Holinshed. 'More than marvel it was,' he says, 'to see that day the invincible heart and constancy of the queen herself, who, being by nature a woman, and therefore commonly more fearful than men be, showed herself in that case more stout than is credible. For she, notwithstanding all the fearful news that were brought to her that day, never abashed. Insomuch that, when one or two noblemen, being her captains, came in all haste to tell her (though untruly) that her battles were yielded to Wyatt, she, nothing moved thereat,

said it was their fond opinion that durst not come near to the trial ; saying further, that she herself would enter the field to try the truth of her quarrel, and to die with them that would serve her, rather than to yield one iota unto such a traitor as Wyatt was ; and prepared herself accordingly.' It must also be said in behalf of Mary, that, if she fell below the Tudor standard in breadth of intellect, she rose above it in the quality of sincerity. Edward VI. was too much under the guidance of others, and died at too early an age, to enable us to form any very precise idea of the specialities of his character. He seems, however, to have been as narrow a Protestant as Mary was a Catholic ; to have been equally sincere, but to have exhibited his earnestness rather in intense obstinacy than in fiery zeal. Like all the Tudors, he was learned and accomplished, in something more than the ordinary acceptance of the term ; but seems to have been rather stiffly pedantic.

Henry VIII. was a very different man in his earlier and later days ; but his cruelties in the latter part of his reign fell on those in high places, rather than on the nation at large ; and being generally exercised on those who were unpopular, did not affect the feeling entertained by the mass of the population, which continued to be cordial towards him to the very end. Elizabeth inherited much of the spirit as well as the power of her father ; and it is to the former, combined with higher qualities of mind, that we must attribute the extent to which she virtually preserved the latter. One great support which she possessed was the deep conviction in the national mind that she governed well. The French ambassador, M. de Bouillon, in the picture which he gives to his court of the state of England at that time, perceives with great keenness this source of the royal power. 'The nobility,' he says, 'are deeply in debt, especially through extravagance in dress and servants ; merchants purchase the possessions of the nobles, persons of rank make humble marriages, and the lower classes of the people are comparatively very rich, inasmuch as they live well indeed, but yet with economy, and are in no wise oppressed with many taxes. The towns increase through commerce. The government,' he continues, 'is en-

tirely in the hands of the queen, who has at the same time established a wonderful obedience to herself, and is uncommonly loved and honoured by the people. The Parliament has usually had great consideration in the kingdom, but now turns itself whichever way the queen wills. The prelates are dependent, the barons few in number. Neither dare to displease her, and the people has had such experience of the mildness and convenience of her government, that it grants her everything at a wish.'

It will be at once seen that this is a description of a free people voluntarily submitting itself to the guidance of a wise and beloved ruler. 'The general prosperity of her reign,' said John Pym, in later years, 'overshadowed small errors and innovations.'—'That never-to-be-forgotten, excellent Queen Elizabeth,' exclaimed his fellow-patriot Sir John Eliot, 'whose name without admiration falls not into mention even with her enemies! You know how she advanced herself, and how she advanced this nation in glory and in state; how she depressed her enemies, and how she upheld her friends; how she enjoyed a full security and made them then our scorn who now are made our terror!'—'Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory—we need not be ashamed to call her so!—that great queen,' said the Protector Cromwell to one of his Parliaments. 'No alteration in church or state,' writes the ambassador Beaumont, in the last year of her reign, 'is to be expected as long as she lives; for she is not merely loved but worshipped.'—'The good Elizabeth,' he writes, regretfully, in the reign of her successor, 'whose memory one cannot sufficiently honour.' These are testimonies to the general impression left by the government of Elizabeth, which go far to explain the ascendancy of the crown during her reign. So far from government and authority being in themselves things from which a nation naturally shrinks, it always requires some great mismanagement in the exercise, or deficiency in the standard, to call forth any expression of popular resentment. The mass of the people really interest themselves little as to the exact limits of the sphere of action of a government, when its efforts are sensibly felt to be exerted for the public good. Hence it is that

under the reign of a great and wise prince there may ensue a sluggishness and political indifference among the people, resulting from too implicit reliance on their ruler, and too little exercise of their own understandings, which would be of very great mischief were it uninterrupted. Anything is to be earnestly avoided which tends to withdraw from the body of the nation that wholesome activity of spirit which is the life-spring of its lasting prosperity. This danger is more especially to be apprehended when the limits of the action of the ruler and the people are somewhat indefinite, and have been apt to enlarge or diminish with the strength or weakness of one or the other. These limits may be, to a certain extent, defined by prescribed statutes; but there is always a running commentary on them in the spirit of each successive age, which really interprets their meaning in a more monarchical or popular sense.

Elizabeth herself never confounded the respect paid to *her* good government with the general respect which might be thought the due of any sort of government. Her pride may have had some influence in inducing her to treat the deference she obtained as personal rather than official. Unlike other monarchs temporarily invested with an extended prerogative, she carefully avoided magnifying her authority in words at the expense of the traditionary liberties of the nation. Satisfied with the possession of substantial power, and in defending this dealing only with *particular* cases, she seldom indulged herself in the dangerous luxury of promulgating despotic theories or maxims of government. She suffered the political structure to remain, to outward appearance, in the same proportions, and she made it the stepping-stone to her own will. She anticipated and prevented, in a great measure, the promulgation of any popular principles in dangerous quarters, by attoning the voice of the throne itself in accordance with the liberties of the people. This courtesy was reciprocated; and the people scrupled not to magnify, in words as well as fact, a prerogative from which they had experienced great good and dreaded little harm. If you wish to have a recognition of the rights of the commonalty, you will ordinarily find it in the royal and ministerial speeches at

the commencement or close of sessions of Parliament ; if you wish to point out the real power possessed by the crown, you will find its hearty acknowledgment in the speeches of the members of the House of Commons.

It has been already remarked, that it was in the cases of isolated individuals that the prerogative of the Tudors was oppressive ; and in this respect it often overleapt the boundaries of the law. But, besides those prosecutions in which the body of the nation was not immediately interested, and those in which any excess of punishment was rather gratifying than otherwise, from the ill-will borne by the masses to the *individual* victims, there were also *classes* of cases in which the queen's will and the prejudices of the people walked hand-in-hand, and where justice, mercy, the law of England, and the higher law of right, of which it should be the reflexion, were violently thrown aside. The mind of every reader will at once revert to the unhappy state of the Roman-catholics during the reign of Elizabeth and her successors. Cruelty, which in Mary's reign preserved at least the English character of death in the open day, in the presence of the thousands on whose reason or fears the sad spectacle was intended to act, under Elizabeth lurked in the secret places of dungeons, and, compared with its real extent, seldom appeared before the eye of the English people. The simple but pathetic inscriptions which still remain on our old prison walls, track but imperfectly the concealed wickedness which was perpetrated within their limits. The guilt of these cruelties against the Catholics must be equally divided between the monarch and the nation ; but there is another class, those directed against the Puritans, in which the just odium rests on the queen and her advisers alone.

Passing by, however, for the present, the puritan persecutions, a word or two should be said on certain aspects of the Roman-catholic question, in which some slight palliation of the iniquity of the proceedings of the queen may be suggested. Religious persecution in the reign of Elizabeth was so much mixed up with the question of civil patriotism, that it is at times extremely difficult to decide between the two ideas. The sight of the Roman-catholic priest, enduring with heroic

firmness the cruel imprisonment or ignominious death which the government inflicted on him, is doubtless calculated to excite our earnest sympathy in his behalf, and our liveliest indignation against his oppressors. But here steps in the question of patriotism. The victim of religious bigotry disappears, and in his place we see the rebel to the authority of his sovereign, the traitor to the dignity and independence of his country, the intriguer with Rome and Spain, the slave and tool of a foreign power. The French ambassador Beaumont declares against the conduct of the Jesuits. 'It is not,' he says, writing in July, 1602, 'necessary to be a bad subject to be a good Christian. Obstinacy, bad disposition, indiscreet zeal for the catholic religion, have brought that sect in England to destruction. They not merely refused to acknowledge and obey the queen, but entered into conspiracies of all kinds against her person, and into alliances with enemies of the kingdom, in order to effect her downfall. Thus, instead of earning from her indulgence and support, they have provoked the queen in such fashion, that she was compelled, on behalf of her own security, to practise severity, and to take from them all liberty.'

We must remember that undoubtedly many of the Roman-catholic clergy held that the sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, pronounced by the Vatican, dissolved any bond of allegiance, and rendered lawful every means, however odious in itself, when employed against her person and government. We are compelled to associate with that government the only means of opposition to the degrading doctrine, that on the ultimate approval or disapproval of an Italian potentate rested the succession to the throne of England, and that to this power belonged the right of bestowing on a foreign and hated prince the appanage of the crown of our country, when the Holy See deemed the actual occupier of it unworthy of the delegated trust. The right divine of kings has met with warm supporters in this land; but the transference of this divine selection to the popes, as the representatives on earth of the Deity, could not be so easily tolerated. But, of the Roman-catholic sufferers during this reign, some will be by no means excluded from our sympathy

under this plea. For, whatever may be alleged by Burleigh as to the theory by which the queen's advisers were guided, it is quite certain that practically the rule of this English inquisition was stretched over numerous persons, who cannot by any specious argument be brought under the head of *political* offenders. Undoubtedly, however, the strongest argument that can be urged in *palliation* of these persecutions, is the impossibility at that time of forming a calm judgment on the subject, amidst the passions excited by the recent influence of the Roman-catholic doctrines on social life. It is to the baneful effects produced in the family circle by the intrusion of priestly authority within its precincts, that must be attributed the peculiar virulence with which the priests were hunted from county to county, driven from the country, and sought to be extirpated like wild beasts. It was this feeling which gave almost a moral sanction to the penal laws by which the Roman-catholic priesthood were pursued down to comparatively recent times. It was the notion that, as long as a priest remained within the boundaries of this country, no moral tie was secure from being broken, and no moral principle in any one safe from the fear of perversion, which made men the most gentle and kind-hearted assume the aspect of cruel inquisitors, and astonishes us with the bitterest words of narrow intolerance from the lips of patriots the most enlightened and free-spirited. At every period the Roman-catholic system must have pressed heavily on social life; but when it was applied to the government of men of rude action and coarser feelings, the bondage, however pernicious in some respects, had at least the merit of restraining or softening the otherwise unbridled passions of the laity, and of preserving in their minds some sense of moral duty, however low this might be. But when the energy of the mind took the lead of mere bodily strength, and when from an age of crusading warriors England passed into the era of thoughtful students, the Roman-catholic system loses its redeeming quality in the social relations, and the despotism which before we can hardly regret, becomes very like a moral crime. There can be little doubt, also, that the agitation attendant on the Reformation had the effect of

giving fresh life to some of the more obnoxious tenets and practices of Romanism which had been little realised or insisted upon in preceding centuries. The peculiarities of church doctrine and discipline were more dwelt upon, and made of greater importance; and the management of the Roman-catholic church in England naturally passed into the hands of the most uncompromising zealots of the party. The origin of the English Reformation in a denial of the authority of the pope, inevitably gave an intensely *Romish* character to the most earnest of its opponents, and had the effect of paralysing, as far as the authorized voices of the church were concerned, that old English-hearted catholic party which, however inconsistently, had for several centuries withstood the papal usurpations while honestly accepting the doctrines (or rather the general authority) of the Papal church. The anger of the nation, from which all Catholics more or less suffered, was roused by and directed specially against the exaggerated Catholicism of the sixteenth century. These considerations, though they do not excuse, should make us hesitate to pass too severe a judgment on the conduct of our ancestors. At any rate, it would be unfair, without some explanation, to stigmatize by the name of religious persecutions the errors of a nation maddened by alarm for the safety of its religious, social, and political freedom.

But if these remarks at all explain the reason of the persecution which the Roman-catholics encountered at the hands of the government and the puritan party, they do not justify the means to which a blind fear prompted them to have recourse. If we had the antecedents of those days more vividly before our eyes, we might indeed be led to concede that some coercive measures towards the Roman-catholic priesthood were then justifiable and strictly necessary; but every one will feel that no reason can justify, even if what has been said should be held to palliate the tyrannical and unconstitutional instruments which were called into action to do the work of protestant vengeance. In the Puritans especially, the support which, in most instances, they lent to these illegal proceedings in the case of the

Catholics, must be considered in the light of religious infatuation, since they were only sharpening the weapons for their own necks. The same machinery was called into play to crush freedom of thought, which had been instituted apparently for the purpose of protecting civil and social liberty. There can be no question as to the utter incompatibility with the true prosperity of a nation of a jurisdiction usurped over the thoughts of the mind, and attempted to be set up in the heart in lieu of conscience,—guided by no legal rules—at once the slave of passion and the arbiter of truth—confounding the functions of the accuser and the judge—and following up a course of prosecution wholly opposed to English law by the practice of torture, which that law, by the mouth of its earlier expositors, ‘takes for servile,’ and on that account expressly declares to be illegal in free England. Such a jurisdiction was that of the courts of the Star-chamber and the High Commission. Illegal and unconstitutional as both these courts practically were, it must still be observed that the Tudors had obtained for them the basis of parliamentary authority, and that while this admits the power of Parliament to revoke such grants, and to remove the courts, the breach of trust actually committed by the commissioners was at their own peril, and they might at any time be called to a severe reckoning, should the attention of the public be specially directed to some particular instances of their tyranny.

The reign of Elizabeth, however, was not destined to afford throughout merely the spectacle of an absolute authority exercised by the crown with the passive acquiescence of the nation. A new power arose, which, although its influence was less in this reign than in the succeeding, still made its existence distinctly felt, even by the great queen herself. Dearly purchased had been the triumph achieved by royalty in England in the overthrow of the papal supremacy. While emancipating themselves from a yoke which was as galling to their personal pride as it was distasteful to the national feelings, the House of Tudor called into vitality a new restraint on the prerogative of the sovereign, and supplied that animating cause the absence of which had hitherto prevented

any organized movement on the part of the gentry and commons of England. Henry had intended merely to avenge a personal injury and gratify a despotic will by availing himself of a vulnerable point in the church of Rome. A dislike of the supremacy and interference of a foreign potentate, not only in civil, but also sometimes in religious affairs, had been prevalent in England at all stages of her history. Had this been the only feeling which existed at the period in question, and had its gratification involved no more dangerous consequences than a severance from Rome, it would, perhaps, have been easy to transfer the whole papal power without diminution to the king; and the only result might have been a change in the presiding executive of the church, and the aggrandizement of the crown at the expense of the church property. But this was not the case; for though the Tudors could take the power from Rome, they could not transfer it entire to Richmond. The spell of infallibility was broken, and it was useless for a rebel from his allegiance to preach implicit obedience. One of the means employed by Henry to subvert the power of Rome, was licensing, by royal authority, the publication of the Bible in the English tongue. It was no hard matter to show that (whatever its foundation in tradition) the domination of the Pope had no authority from the pages of Holy Writ; but it was not easy to prevent men who read thus far, from reading further, and imagining that they discovered the absence of all authority for doctrines and ceremonies which it did not enter into the king's views to throw aside. Besides, the revolt from Rome brought the English nation into nearer communion with the foreign Reformers, whose systems had been framed according to no royal mandates, and, consequently, embraced far deeper and more important differences from the Papal church. From a question touching on the principle of civil allegiance, the Reformation in England gradually assumed the aspect of a question of church ceremonies and government; and growing up with this, but at first only partially mooted, arose a discussion on points of doctrine.

Henry, meanwhile, seemed determined that the Reformation of the English church should simply keep pace with his own

personal interests. The old Lollard opinions had revived with the downfall of their oppressors, and agreed negatively on many points with Luther and Calvin. In most of these instances Henry saw no reason for departing from the standard of Rome. This being the case, any attempt to do so without royal license was punished as heresy ; and thus, to the end of his reign, he hung Roman-catholics as rebels for asserting the continuance of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and burnt Protestants as heretics for denying doctrines, and laying aside observances, the reception of which, with most men, rested on the basis of the infallibility of that bishop ! But this balance of parties, depending so much on grounds personal to himself, could continue only during Henry's life. A minority threw the power of the state, for six years, into the hands of the protestant party, the young king's uncles and chief councillors of state being of that faith. Thus the work of Reformation proceeded much further in this reign ; and assuming more of a religious character, seemed to be approximating to the model of the foreign Protestant churches. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that in more than one instance the zeal of the reforming government outstripped the wishes and convictions of the majority of the nation. The death of the young king wrought a great change. The restoration and ascendancy of the old religion, during the brief sway of Mary, purified the principles of the Reformation through a fiery trial, and fixed them on a firmer and nobler foundation. Although it is absurd to attribute the previous changes of religious opinion in England merely to the caprice of the king, yet since this had been the instrument by means of which they first gained any degree of freedom in their play, a slur had hitherto rested on the motives, and a doubt had existed as to the sincerity, of the new converts. It was now seen that, although many had adopted their religious creed merely as they would some new court fashion, and hence readily threw it off to resume the early habits which were again in favour in high places, yet there existed a by no means inconsiderable body of men, of all grades of society, who had imbibed the spirit as well as the outward form of Protestantism, and who were ready to sacrifice honours and life for

the sake of their faith. Worldly interest had given place to the dread of an accusing conscience, and when the favour of the court and the law of Christ (as they read it) stood in antagonistic attitudes, they preferred the latter, and by their heroic bearing snatched from the side of the church of Rome the sympathies attaching to the religious martyr. Between the death of Edward and the death of Mary the protestant religion assumed a firm footing on the English soil, which was never afterwards really shaken. Where hundreds had obeyed the king, thousands inscribed themselves as the subjects of conscience. To add to this zeal, the exiled protestant divines, who had found shelter and the warmest sympathy among the Calvinistic churches of Switzerland and Germany, hastened back to England when the 'Romish queen' was no more, and brought with them a still stronger desire to forward the English Reformation to the advanced stage of these continental churches. They returned inspired with an ardent attachment to the principles which had supported and comforted them during the evil day; they also returned, unhappily, with feelings strongly tinged with the bitterness created by unjust persecution, and with the not unnatural bigotry which arose from identifying opinions which had so well supported them through their trials, with positive and indisputable truth. Thus with the return of seeming freedom was laid the foundation of future persecution. These men at once obtained all the influence due to their vindicated sincerity, and the feelings of humanity which had been enlisted on the side of the expelled monks and nuns, now ran violently against the cruel conduct of the Romish church in her day of recovered power. From this point we must date the commencement of a new era in the annals of the English nation. A period extending from the accession of Elizabeth down to the third Parliament of Charles I., embraces almost exactly the history of the movement called 'Puritanism,' from its original appearance in a simply religious character, through its gradual development into the predominant element in the great civil movements of the seventeenth century. The commencement of this period exhibits it in its greatest weakness; the close of it records the enrolment of the first great charter,

to the parentage of which it may clearly lay claim. The first Parliament of Elizabeth occupied itself in restoring to the crown the supremacy in spiritual affairs which Mary had renounced ; the third Parliament of Charles was successful in forcing from an unwilling king a recognition of the limits of his civil prerogative which earlier charters had more or less definitely fixed.

Many forms and ceremonies had been retained by Elizabeth which were rejected by the followers of the Reformer of Geneva, and which would probably have been rejected by the English church also, had the life of Edward been prolonged. A discussion on these points, ending in serious disturbances, had arisen among the exiles at Frankfort during Mary's reign, and they brought to England with them minds sufficiently heated by this controversy to render very difficult any amicable arrangement of the question. The ceremonies and observances which roused this ill-feeling, appear at first sight so unimportant as to excite wonder at their adoption or rejection being the subject of any serious discussion. But at that period they possessed a real significance which it is difficult to convey adequately to our minds at the present time. It must be remembered that the outward changes in the church had been effected by royal authority, and that within her fold there were included very many clergymen who still retained their affection for the doctrines and ceremonies of Rome. The church of England, under Elizabeth's direction, while admitting the principles of the Reformation, felt herself at the same time to be connected with the government of a nation, no inconsiderable portion of which still leant towards the Roman church. The question, therefore, being looked at in a political light, naturally resulted in a compromise. Forced by the union of church and state into the character of a national question, a solution was attempted by steering a middle course between opposite tendencies in the nation ; and in accordance with this policy several Romish ceremonies were retained which might otherwise have been laid aside. Now, the connection in Romanism between ceremonies and doctrines is intimate ; so much so, that to retain the former, while disclaiming the latter, might be held either to empty

the service of the church of England of all meaning, or to be calculated, among its seriously reflecting members, to revive again the doctrines which the ceremonies were intended originally to embody. Independently of this, it would not have been unfair to reason, that either these ceremonies were unimportant, and in that case should be left to the discretion of each parish ; or that, if held to be important and essential, it was necessary to oppose them on that ground, as directly contrary to the spirit of the Reformation. It appeared, at first, as if the former of these alternatives would be accepted ; and for some years the ceremonies were retained, modified, or laid aside, according to the leaning of the particular district, the bishops either countenancing or passing over this breach of uniformity. Elizabeth, however, was jealously tenacious of her newly-acquired ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; and, losing sight of her usual tact and prudence, provoked a contest with the feelings of a large part of the nation, which shook the foundations of her hitherto undisputed civil authority.

About the year 1567 the queen took her side against the tolerance of Puritanism, and adopted coercive measures against those who refused to submit to the royal mandates. A want of harmony thus ensued between the wishes of the sovereign and the convictions of large masses of the people, which produced the most important political results. The queen's council itself was divided on the subject ; but the Lower House of Parliament openly espoused the cause of ecclesiastical reform. 'The two statutes,' observes Mr. Hallam, 'enacted in the first year of Elizabeth, commonly called the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, are the main links of the Anglican church with the English Constitution, and establish the subordination and dependency of the former ; the first abrogating all jurisdiction and legislative power of ecclesiastical rulers, except under the authority of the crown ; and the second prohibiting all changes of rites and discipline *without the approbation of Parliament.*' This exception, in the end, proved of formidable dimensions ; for, by recognising a joint action between the sovereign and the other estates of Parliament, it necessarily gave rise to a discussion by the latter of

subjects hitherto little attended to by them. It placed the crown, in fact, in a somewhat similar position relatively to Parliament in ecclesiastical to that which it had occupied in civil affairs. This was extremely important; for, according to the estimate of Mr. Hallam, who is no partial judge, the Puritans formed considerably the largest part of the real Protestants of Elizabeth's reign. Undoubtedly among the protestant gentry they had a great preponderance, and when, by the act of the 5th of that queen, Romanists were excluded from sitting in Parliament, the Puritans returned a majority of members to the House of Commons. Trained by the queen herself, in the early Parliaments of her reign, to discuss theological questions, by the various acts which were passed by them, at her desire, for securing the transition of the church from Popery to Anglicanism, they proved themselves apter scholars and more searching controversialists than their mistress anticipated. The old policy of the Tudors now told against the crown. The power exercised by these sovereigns, however unwonted, had been in a great measure conferred by the Houses of Parliament, it having been part of the subtle state-craft of the Tudors to make the representatives of the nation their accomplices in their projects. Acts of attainder were readily passed by the pliant Parliaments of Henry VIII., and with equal recklessness they were auxiliary to his various marriage-schemes, with their catastrophes. Had the Parliaments been less tractable at this period, or had questions arisen earlier to divide the crown from the people, it is not impossible that the Tudors might have laid aside such troublesome advisers, and a conflict might have been precipitated for which the Commons were untrained. Victory would then possibly—not so much by stronger force as by superior policy—have rested with the crown; the rising energies of the intelligent classes would have been crushed, and in the course of another century or two the renewed struggle for liberty might have been entrusted to the guidance of the lowest of a degraded people. As it was, during the growth in Parliament of a spirit of independence, no such questions arose, and the crown rested on the head of a prince who carefully guarded against a

crisis ; nor was it until in its full maturity—a veteran in political contests—that the party of the Commons drew the sword against the royal prerogative.

Without attempting to trace all the vicissitudes of victory and defeat which marked the struggle between the crown and the Lower House during Elizabeth's reign, it may be said, generally, that they err greatly who suppose that in the imperfect records of these proceedings we find no trace of the spirit of independence and true English liberty which characterized the succeeding century. The bold language of Peter Wentworth, in 1572 and 1588, was echoed by many equally dauntless supporters ; and the concessions continually made by the crown prove that Elizabeth felt that this Puritan zeal in the representatives of the nation was sustained by the assent of the great majority of English Protestants. If few marks of its influence were as yet impressed on the statute-law of England, Puritanism had achieved an important preliminary step in the formation of a national spirit, and in the perception of growing strength from a series of contests in which success was only rendered less effective by the general harmony of interests between the contending powers. We see, in the early part of the struggle, the queen attempting, though still with the caution and discretion which usually distinguished her, to resist or direct this new popular impulse ; but we also perceive that, though she sometimes completely succeeded in this attempt, and in other cases managed to conceal the real extent to which she was compelled to yield, still, in the course of time, she became more dependent on accidental circumstances for the defence of her enlarged prerogative, and took a less haughty position in her intercourse with her faithful Commons. And when, towards the close of her reign, the shadow of her approaching death seemed to throw a gloom over her prosperous career—when the Irish Rebellion and the contests with Spain entailed on the country a taxation which it had been unaccustomed to support, and compelled the queen to resort to those money applications in Parliament which she had so wisely avoided as the invariable preludes to a discussion of grievances—when the treason and death of Essex, and the other per-

sonal sorrows of the queen had impressed her with a deep melancholy, which led her to avoid the publicity that had formed so strong a tie with her people in the earlier part of her reign—when, in short, the authority resting on her personal position was weakened,—we find the House of Commons gradually resuming the duties which it had rather voluntarily abandoned than been deprived of, and Elizabeth recognizing the change which had been effected in their relative positions, and not only suffering proceedings to pass unquestioned which, before, she would have visited with severe reprehension, but expressly sanctioning the principles on which they were founded, and gaining her last great outburst of loyal enthusiasm by the gracious and thankful admission of the right of national interference in matters of national administration. This great closing scene in the parliamentary drama of the reign of Elizabeth, which occurred less than sixteen months before the death of the queen, gives so vivid a picture of her political skilfulness and royal bearing, that it forms the most appropriate conclusion to any sketch of her system of government. The abuse of the numerous monopolies of manufactures, &c., granted to the great men of the court, had grown to such a height, that it provoked at length several animated debates in the Commons, whom the queen vainly endeavoured by conciliatory messages to divert from their purpose of introducing a bill on the subject. Finding them resolute, Elizabeth wisely anticipated further proceedings by announcing through her minister Cecil, that there had been already prepared the draft of a royal proclamation suppressing monopolies altogether. The effect of this gracious concession was magical; and the House of Commons resounded with protestations of gratitude and loyalty. It was unanimously resolved that the queen should be entreated to appoint a time when the Speaker, in the name of the House, might express their hearty thanks for her gracious message. This was readily assented to; and in the afternoon of the 30th of November, 1601, the Speaker, accompanied by about a hundred and forty of the House of Commons, entered the council-room, under a canopy at the upper end of which the queen was seated; and there, after three low

reverences made, delivered a speech of fervid loyalty, concluding with these emphatic words:—

‘We come not, sacred sovereign, one of ten to render thanks, and the rest to go away unthankful; but all of us, in all duty and thankfulness, do throw down ourselves at the feet of your majesty—do praise God, and bless your majesty! Neither do we present our thanks in words of any outward thing, which can be no sufficient retribution for so great goodness; but in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at your feet, we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood in our hearts, and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up, for your safety!’ Then, after three more low reverences, he with the rest kneeled down, and Elizabeth commenced a reply, of which the following are the most striking passages, which I extract from a copy printed in later years, as a bitter satire on her incapable successors. ‘I do assure you,’ she said, ‘that there is no prince that loveth his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love; there is no jewel, be it of never so rich a price, which I prefer before this jewel, —I mean your love. For I do more esteem it than any treasure or riches; for *that* we know how to prize, but love and thanks I count inestimable. And though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people.’—‘Of myself I must say this: I never was any greedy scraping grasper, nor a strait fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects’ good. What you do bestow on me I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea, mine own properties I count yours, to be expended for your good. Therefore render unto them from me, I beseech you, Mr. Speaker, such thanks as you imagine my heart yieldeth, but my tongue cannot express.’ All this while they kneeled. Whereupon her majesty said: ‘Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I shall yet trouble you with longer speech.’ So they all stood up, and

she went on in her speech: 'Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I doubt me I have more cause to thank you all, than you me; and I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me; for, had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information. Since I was queen, yet never did I put my pen to any grant, but upon pretext and semblance made unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to the subject in general, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants who had deserved well; but the contrary being found by experience, I am exceeding beholden to such subjects as would move the same at first.'—'That my grants should be grievous to my people, and oppressions to be privileged under colour of our patents, our kingly dignity shall not suffer it. Yea, when I heard it, I could give no rest to my thoughts until I had reformed it. Shall they think to escape unpunished, that have thus oppressed you, and have been disrespectful of their duty, and regardless of our honour? No!'—'I have ever used to set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge. To whose judgment-seat I do appeal, that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. And now, if my kingly bounty hath been abused, and my grants turned to the hurt of my people contrary to my will and meaning, or if any, in authority under me, have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offences to my charge.'—'I know the title of a king is a glorious title, but assure yourself that the shining glory of princely authority hath not so dazzled the eyes of our understanding, but that we well know and remember that we also are to yield an account of our actions before the great Judge. To be a king and wear a crown is more glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasant to them that bear it! For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom (as I said) from peril, dishonour, tyranny, and oppression! There will never queen

sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, or care to my subjects, and that will sooner, with willingness, yield and venture her life for your good and safety than myself. And though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat; yet you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving. Should I ascribe anything to myself and my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live then; and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a heart which never yet feared foreign or home enemies. I speak it to give God the praise, as a testimony before you, and not to attribute anything unto myself. For I, O Lord! what am I, whom practices and perils past should not fear! O! what can I do [these she spoke with a great emphasis]—that I should speak for my glory! God forbid! This, Mr. Speaker, I pray you deliver unto the House, to whom heartily recommend me. And so I commit you all to your best fortunes and future counsels.'

It is not strange that a sovereign wielding with such consummate ability the energies of a free-spirited and prosperous nation, should obtain a leading position among European princes. The rule of Elizabeth combined to a remarkable extent the advantages of arbitrary and constitutional governments. To the unity and decision of the former it added the solid and increasing resources of the latter. It was the will of an individual representing the spirit of a whole people. To those who scrutinized closely the home government of the queen, there might be apparent traces of internal weakness and vacillation; but to foreign countries the position of Elizabeth, and of England under her auspices, was definite and consistent. Abroad at least she stood forward as the advocate and protector of freedom of thought, that is to say (in those days), of Protestantism. However imperfectly free thought may have been recognised in the various systems into which Protestantism developed itself, it is quite certain that its theory pointed directly to that great principle, and that the natural tendency of any Protestant community was towards its complete realization. In Roman Catholicism, on the contrary, whatever may have been the

feeling of individual Catholics, both theoretically and practically, in its associations and daily acts, that principle was distinctly denied. That Elizabeth would willingly have committed herself to an advocacy of freedom of thought is not for one moment to be supposed ; but circumstances placed her in a position which rendered any other course very difficult, and her high spirit and strong English feelings stepped in and decided the question. Paul excommunicated her from the Vatican ; Spain threatened her with invincible armadas. Her course was promptly taken. She appealed to the support of her people as Protestants and as Englishmen ; she made herself the rallying point for all the scattered Protestantism of the Continent ; she repelled Philip from her shores, and she sent her sailors to carry back the challenge to his own coasts ; she stretched out an arm of protection and encouragement to the Huguenots of France, and their brave leaders, Coligny, Condé, and young Henry of Navarre ; she lent assistance, moral and material, to the struggling commonwealth of the Flemish Provinces, wisely declining the sovereignty they proffered, while she secured their independence from the assaults of Spain ; and further than her arms could reach, or her policy be exercised, was felt the influence of the great Protestant queen. She might persecute the Puritan at home, but he felt that by her foreign policy she was securing the triumph of the great principle under which he would ultimately find shelter. Even the Catholic, suspected and proscribed though he was, forgot the religious distinctions which had been forced into such undue importance, and remembered only that he was the fellow-countryman of Drake and of Raleigh.

Such was the government of the greatest of the Tudors. We have now to speak of a royal family of a very different stamp—the House of Stuart.

James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, who succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne, was the descendant of a line of kings whose ancestry has been traced to the great Anglo-Norman family of Fitz-Alan. The dignity of seneschal, or steward of the household of the Scotch monarchs, becoming hereditary in the family, was converted into a surname,

and the marriage of Walter, the sixth high-steward, with Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce, opened to their son Robert, on the extinction of Bruce's male line, the succession to the crown of Scotland. The marriage of his descendant, James IV., with Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry VII., gave birth to the claim of the House of Stuart to the English crown; a claim favoured but never distinctly recognised by Elizabeth, who was not disposed to place a rival prince, during her lifetime, in the attractive position of her acknowledged successor, and also saw the influence over the mind of the Scotch king which she would obtain by keeping his pretensions in ambiguous suspense. Cecil, however, doubtless interpreted her real intentions truly when he announced that the queen on her deathbed had assented to the succession of James VI. of Scotland.

This Sixth James cannot be looked upon as a fair representative of the character of the Stuart family; and all the *English* Stuarts necessarily differ in several points from their Scotch ancestors. There are, however, some features common to the character of both. James I. of *Scotland*, perhaps the greatest of the Stuarts, with great personal courage, and many other kingly and statesmanlike qualities and accomplishments, combined an imprudently headstrong self-will, and a relentless and unforgiving temperament. These good and bad qualities descended in varying degrees to most of his successors. James II., resembling his father in many respects, though marked by less independent energy, has been charged with dissimulation and treachery on account of the murder of the Earl of Douglas by his own hand, in violation of the safe-conduct by which he was enticed into the castle of Stirling. If guilty, however, in this case, these evil qualities cannot be said to have constituted an habitual feature of the king's character. But in the reign of the next Stuart, a royal failing became very conspicuous, which unfortunately proved to be hereditary—addiction to favourites. This sprang in a great measure from the precarious position of the royal authority in Scotland. During the wars of the Baliols and Bruces, the great barons had necessarily enjoyed a nearly independent authority, and had been too essential to both of the

royal competitors to be called by either to any rigid reckoning for their lawless outrages. The feebleness of the two first Stuart kings, and the dissensions and bitter hatreds within the royal family itself, followed by a regency in the case of a captive prince, rendered the baronial ascendancy still more marked, and, if possible, more odious. James I., on his release from his English prison, brought back to his native country an indomitable resolution to break completely this aristocratic power, and to re-establish the royal authority. His strong will effected this in a great measure, though he ultimately goaded the nobles into his assassination by the unsparing use which he made of his advantages. Besides arbitrarily transferring the lands of one baron to another, and confiscating entirely the property of others, so as to weaken the hereditary territorial influence of the great families, James endeavoured to give to the commonalty a position in the state, thus converting the burghs into so many royal strongholds in the midst of the landed nobles. The towns of Scotland, however, were very poor and thinly peopled, and brought as yet to the side of the crown little of the power possessed by the prosperous boroughs of England. The king found that the greatest advantage which he could derive from the 'third estate' lay in attaching members of it to the personal service of the crown, and raising from the lower gentry and middle classes clever administrators or devoted partisans to the rank of state councillors and royal favourites. Distrusting the great nobles, and regarding those alone as trustworthy servants of the crown whose interests were bound up with the depression of the aristocracy, he passed over the great historical names, and lavished wealth and honours on men whom the haughty barons regarded with a mixture of anger at their superior talents, and scorn at their humble origin and subserviency to the king. Thus the commonalty, which in England was represented in the House of Commons, found in Scotland, at this time, its representatives in the royal council-chamber. During the reigns of James I. and II. the good resulting from this policy out-balanced the evil. For, though the banishment from any share in the government of an interest of such great and established social importance as the

aristocratic, cannot be regarded in itself as satisfactory, or as consistent with the lasting prosperity of a nation, and though these kings probably pushed their exclusion of the nobility to an extreme, the state to which Scotland was previously reduced required a strong remedy; and the choice of advisers and favourites made by the crown was at first judicious, and beneficial to the country at large. James III., however, and his successors, perverted this system of plebeian favouritism by throwing the power and wealth of the state into the hands of grasping, profligate men, whose only qualifications were those of being ready ministers of the royal pleasures and crimes. With these sovereigns, even those tastes which were of a higher order, were often indulged in to an undue extent, money being lavished on the fine arts which belonged properly to, and was pressingly required by, the necessities of the ordinary administration. There was no concurrent economy in other branches of the royal expenditure to justify this great outlay in one direction, while the low morality of the court countenanced the idea that the object was not so much to soften and refine the national character, as enervate that independent, though ill-regulated, spirit which was the most formidable obstacle to the establishment of the despotic authority of the crown. The female favourites of a race of kings, all more or less addicted to gallantry, were an additional grievance to the nation.

Much more injurious, however, to the stability of the royal authority in Scotland, and (possibly) to the character of the Stuarts, was the marriage contracted by James V. with Mary of Guise. The Reformation was then spreading through all the kingdoms of Europe, and Scotland was called upon to take her side in the great contest. The majority of the middle classes and common people leant to the new movement; the majority of the nobles did the same, some from conviction, the larger part from hopes of participating in the spoils of the church. Henry VIII. was extremely desirous to enlist his royal nephew against the Papal See, and, curiously enough, is said to have offered him the hand of his daughter Mary (the future Romish zealot), on condition of his abandoning the communion of Rome. James, however,

was not disposed to take this step. There was not sufficient depth, indeed, in his character to make it probable that his course was dictated by principle; there are other much more probable causes. Henry VIII., through the extinction of the old nobility of England, had been enabled to appropriate to himself the church property, and convert it into a new source of strength to the crown. In Scotland the nobles, owing to the weakness of the last few sovereigns, were nearly as powerful as ever; and the largest share of the spoils must have fallen into their hands, so rendering the position of the crown still more precarious. In England, the church was the only organized body whose position was at all independent of the crown, against which, as has been already said, she had been frequently allied with the great barons. In Scotland, the king and the clergy, in the face of a common danger from an overgrown aristocracy, looked to each other for support; and the crown found not only the counsels of the clergy of great assistance in the administration, but also the revenues of the church considerably at its command in state emergencies. James, therefore, adhered to the Papal See, and thus broke the link of attachment which secured to the crown the rising power of the middle classes, who, in their turn, became associated, by the strong sympathies of a common faith, with their old opponents the aristocracy. In making his decision, James probably overlooked this consideration, or, very naturally, undervalued a power whose origin was so recent, and so much the work of the crown itself. This breach, nevertheless, might have been healed in the next generation, if James had consulted the feelings of the nation in his choice of a queen. By marrying one of a family identified throughout Europe with the ultra-papal cause, and with implacable animosity to Protestantism, the king sowed the seeds of future most dreadful evils to his kingdom. Mary of Guise, who, on the premature death of her husband, became regent in the name of her infant daughter, had the Guise ability, with more moderation than the rest of her family. She had, however, unfortunately, the Guise family failing of deep dissimulation, which not impossibly through her descended, a fatal inheritance, to the

English Stuarts. In her regency Scotchmen learnt to distrust the solemn promises of the crown, and the confidence thus lost was destined never to be regained. The young queen, Mary, meanwhile, was being educated at the court of Catherine de Medicis, where deceit, profligacy, and assassination were regarded with complacent moral indifference, and when politically successful, with warm admiration—being looked upon, indeed, as powerful instruments of government, only to be deprecated in the hands of bunglers and incapables. During the short reign of her feeble husband, Francis II., Mary found herself, under the auspices of her uncles the Guises, placed at the head of the ultra-papal party; and on her return to Scotland, then agitated by the most violent dissensions on the subject, she naturally threw all her influence on the side of the unpopular church. The great nobles saw their advantage, and pushed it to the utmost, the crown, by its treachery and crimes, effectually aiding them in their purpose. But for the talents and strong will of Murray and Morton, when successively raised to the regency, the royal authority would have disappeared altogether. As it was, it passed in an extremely enfeebled state into the hands of a child, raised to the throne during the lifetime of his mother by the arms of her successful rebels. Every writer on history must feel the difficulty of apportioning to Mary Stuart her fair share of blame and praise. Estimated by the general course of her actions, nothing could be more repulsive than her character. To the savage severity of the most inexorable of men, we find added the most thoughtless frivolity of a weak woman. To crimes which belonged rather to a barbarous age, she joined the Machiavellian craft of the sixteenth century. Neither her virtues nor her vices were complete. We might even admire the unchangeable determination displayed in some of her worst deeds, did we not find on other occasions the most feeble irresolution. We could pardon the ill-fated outbursts of wounded pride, did we not find that Mary could, whenever she chose, exercise the most complete mastery over her actions. We could forgive the immorality into which she seemed to be hurried by uncontrollable passion, did not the result always prove the feeling to be as

superficial and transient as it was for the time flagrantly and madly indulged in. We could regard with painful pity the sufferings of the queen under the consequences of her self-willed marriage with the weak grovelling Darnley ; but it is difficult indeed to endure the spectacle of her treacherous blandishments to her wretched husband, when suffering and terror had revived in him some feeling of attachment, and even of confidence in her fidelity. We could respect a monarch struggling fearlessly for arbitrary power against an overbearing aristocracy, without any sure reliance but her own stout heart ; but the picture is marred by the reckless folly with which she destroyed all the fruits of her previous exertions, to indulge the selfish whim of the moment. Even her martyrdom for her religion becomes less admirable, when we perceive that it differed little from a superstitious preference for that church which would grant the easiest licence of her passions in this world, and most authoritatively assure her against their consequences hereafter. Still, in the face of all these facts, it is impossible to regard Mary Stuart with feelings of unmixed abhorrence. Her beauty—the fascination of her manners—her sparkling wit—her queenly bearing through good and ill—her unshaken physical courage—above all, her misfortunes and her death—will always appeal strongly to our feelings in her behalf, however reason may refuse to recognise the plea. Her portraits, particularly the earlier ones, certainly impress one with the idea of a character possessing the elements of great good as well as great evil, and over whose ultimate bent circumstances and early training would exercise a more than ordinary influence. However much the evil may have predominated, the capacity for good in Mary's original character seems not to have been always in abeyance ; and when the reaction took place, it appears to have been as vehement as short-lived. At times she seems to have been roused from her usual moral apathy, for the moment at least, into the intensest perception of good and evil, and the most poignant preference for the former. As might be expected, it is generally when in the very crisis of her worst actions, when seemingly furthest removed from good influences, that some passionate outburst reveals to us

a glimpse of better and nobler instincts. Surely those advocates of Mary Stuart who deny the genuineness of the Bothwell letters, really do great injury to her memory, by depriving us of the evidence which they contain of strong feelings and conscience-stricken remorse, with difficulty concealed behind that iron mask of outward callousness which excites our astonishment and horror. It is some faint perception of this which invests the career of Mary, in the minds of the majority of readers, with a deeper interest than is commanded by the superior talents of her great rival. Had Elizabeth been less fortunate, or had her strong passions been less completely controlled by her sagacious breadth of intellect, she would have gathered around her far more of the romantic devotion of later ages. Those who lived in the closer presence of their respective lives, not only judged but *felt* differently. In both England and Scotland, Mary, except with interested partisans, was the object of deep detestation; while Elizabeth commanded the respect of both kingdoms, and the warmest affection of one.

James VI., who was destined to become the undisputed sovereign of that country in which, and at the demand of the great majority of the inhabitants of which, his mother had perished by the axe of the executioner, was placed during his early life in a position from which probably few princes could have escaped without serious moral detriment. The son of parents one of whom stood charged with procuring the death of the other, and himself in the circumstances of his birth connected with the terrible tragedy which led to this catastrophe, he found himself, on attaining to years of reason, reigning as the usurper of his mother's throne, opposed by all the most uncompromising supporters of royal authority, and sustained only by the league of nobles and burghers who had succeeded in subverting that authority. Under the tutelage of one great and ambitious noble after the other, the young king for some time served but to grace and legalize with the royal symbol of his name the triumph of rival factions. Compelled to employ, with reference to his mother, the formal language of anxious affection, while virtually proclaiming her guilt by the grounds of his tenure of her

seat, he had to play the double part of the dutiful son imploring her release from her English prison, and of the rival claimant of the crown endeavouring by every politic device to prevent her return to Scotland. Of such a training favouritism and dissimulation were the natural fruits. As death—generally a violent one—removed one by one the great nobles who had been the principal agents in dethroning Mary, and crowning James, that prince succeeded gradually in regaining a portion of the royal authority, which he at once threw into the hands of unworthy favourites. Educated by great Protestant scholars in the cumbrous learning of the century, James soon added to the theological pedantry of a Protestant controversialist the affectation of a wise legislator and astute politician. He has been called a ‘learned fool,’ and his lucubrations on government and royal authority, when we consider the position in which he was practically placed, certainly entitle him to the epithet. Royal despotism seems to have possessed for him all the attraction of forbidden fruit, and the mortifications which he was constantly compelled to undergo from insolent nobles and presuming preachers, appear to have had only the effect of impressing more strongly on his mind a sense of the theoretical irresponsibility of the crown. To England his eyes were continually turned as to the Land of Promise in which all these cherished dreams of royal autocracy were to be realized. This is strange enough; and proves sufficiently the shallowness of the royal pedant’s philosophy, if we consider that in England the sacredness of kings had just then received a greater shock in the trial and execution of Mary than in any proceedings relative to that sovereign which had taken place in Scotland; and when we remember, that although the practical extent of the royal prerogative exercised by Elizabeth might have misled any one who was not conversant with the minor workings of her government, it could scarcely reasonably have deceived James, who was in constant communication and intrigue with the leading statesmen of England, and who through them must have been made well acquainted with the real basis of the royal authority in this country, and with the rising power of the Commons with which the queen had to contend. The

fact, however, seems to have been, that although, as in the case of Essex, the Scotch monarch availed himself of the English malcontents, he had so overweening an estimate of his own superior wisdom and sagacity, that he believed himself fully capable of dealing peremptorily with questions on which Elizabeth found it necessary to temporize, and thought he had only to exhibit himself in England in his natural character of a wise autocrat to be quietly recognised at once in this capacity by the whole English nation. The difference in the manners and social observances of the two kingdoms probably heightened this conceited folly, and gave it for the moment something like a solid foundation in fact. The courteous deference which was outwardly paid to the sovereign in England, and the inflated and adulatory language in which the crown was habitually approached by public bodies as well as by individuals, seemed to the shallow James so many proofs that the royal qualities which sparkled in his 'princely countenance' had already produced their desired effect on the minds of his subjects, and that he had only to command like Cæsar to be obeyed implicitly. Elizabeth, and the Tudors generally, knew the unmeaningness of these flattering common-places; and, as we have seen, lavished them with as little reserve on their side upon their faithful Commons. They never dreamt of acting upon the strength of these verbal acknowledgments of their perfection in wisdom. James, if he had possessed ordinary common-sense, must have fathomed the meaning of these flatteries also; but he was so blinded by his infatuated self-conceit, and by his book-learning about divinely-appointed kings, that he appears to have been only conscious of the glorious 'sun' of his own presence, 'dispelling those supposed and surmised mists of darkness' which threatened to 'overshadow this land, upon the setting of that bright Occidental star, queen Elizabeth.' The joy felt in England at the quiet solution of the great problem of the succession, which had been for the last century agitating the minds of all men, gave even a warmer colouring than usual to the felicitations addressed to James on his accession; and the discontent at the royal bearing, which manifested itself long before the new sovereign reached London, did not for

some time awaken the king from his pleasing self-delusion. This is the explanation, though by no means the justification, of the enterprise on which James now entered, and which was continued, without the same plausible excuse, by his headstrong successor. This design was no other than to subvert the Constitution of England, and to establish in its place a despotic monarchy, such as that which existed wholly or approximately in the great foreign states. For such an undertaking the intellectual qualities of a Richelieu were required ; and it need hardly be said, were entirely wanting in James. A dissembler by nature and by long habit, he dissembled badly, and only succeeded in destroying all confidence in his most solemn assurances. With all his boasted statecraft, he was never able to conceal his projects until a favourable moment for their execution ; and by the pompous language with which he heralded them called forth an opposition which stifled them in the birth. He was a coward, both morally and physically ; and this fact exercised a material influence on the character of the contest during his life. His vanity led him continually to assume to himself in words a sovereign power entirely inconsistent with the Constitution, and accommodated to some theory of his own brain ; while the same love of *seeming* power induced him frequently to interfere with the privileges of the House of Commons, and when prompted by his necessities, to have recourse to various illegal means of raising money ; but when called to account for this language and these proceedings, he gave way, not as Elizabeth, but in a manner congenial with his own spirit ; and a great deal of bluster was always followed by an agony of terror and humiliation.

In Elizabeth's reign the differences between the crown and the Lower House of Parliament, thanks to the general good feeling between them, were confined to hot words on both sides ; and after these had been freely indulged in, the quarrel invariably ended in an increase of attachment and respect, and a hearty desire in both to remove all traces of disagreement by a cordial recognition of each other's rights. The queen might satisfy her outraged feelings by a few biting allusions when the storm was hushed ; but she had always

secured an impunity for so doing, through her concessions on all substantial points; and she never retained her anger so long that the real benefit received was forgotten. With James, the reverse of all this was the case. 'When he wishes to assume the language of a king,' observes the French ambassador Tillières, 'his tone is that of a tyrant, and when he condescends, he is vulgar.' He had no general confidence and good feeling in the nation to fall back upon, for his personal character and conduct had soon very effectually demolished all the principal foundations of Elizabeth's popularity and power, while it undermined even the ordinary prerogative of the crown. He yielded as ungraciously as without the slightest regard to royal dignity, and exhibited not only an inclination to recant his concession at the first opportunity, but an unforgiving resentment against all who had been the instruments in obtaining it. He thus yielded even more than Elizabeth, without obtaining one tithe of the credit; and left on the minds of his subjects only the remembrance of the injury successfully resented. He not only put forward great pretensions to extended authority, but he made a bad use of the authority which he already possessed. Misgovernment rendered the idea of any increase in his power much more unbearable, and provoked closer attention to every infringement of the Constitution. He got into debt, and then endeavoured to act as independently as Elizabeth, who economized on her own resources. Not only was more money spent than by the late government, but it was squandered on personal gratifications, or on objects quite at variance with the popular feelings. The king affected to despise his predecessor, and this, joined to his own inclinations, led him to adopt a wholly different policy, both foreign and domestic. The narrow personal selfishness, from which hardly one of the Stuarts had been exempt, became especially conspicuous in James. The Tudors were selfish, but they identified their selfishness with the interests of their kingdom. James and his successors looked only to their own personal aggrandizement and pleasure, and in the pursuit of these cared little what disaster or humiliation their country underwent. The Stuart king leaned incessantly on the bare theory of monarchy for sup-

port, instead of entrenching himself in the impregnable stronghold of his own character and actions. Had the prerogative he pretended to been the most undoubted, so continual a reference to its authority must ultimately have proved destructive of its credit. What human theory, indeed, could be expected to endure such continued and minute scrutiny?

The habits of the king deteriorated greatly with his advancing years; but from the first he was addicted to the grosser pleasures of the table, and ultimately sank into the coarsest and most infamous debauchery, and an almost chronic state of drunkenness. The picture given of him in his ordinary life by the foreign ambassadors is one of the most frightful in the page of history, and is corroborated by nearly every contemporary testimony. As a natural consequence of this loss of all self-respect, there was a corresponding loss of royal dignity. While avoiding that publicity which formed one great element of Elizabeth's popularity, James encouraged in his court an amount of indecorous familiarity wholly at variance with his sovereign pretensions. 'A few days back,' writes the French ambassador, in the first years of the new king's reign, 'some one said to Cecil, he must find himself much relieved under this reign, in that he was no longer compelled to address his sovereign kneeling, as in the time of the deceased queen. He replied, however, 'Would to God that I yet spoke on my knees.' Many wise persons are struck with this expression, as indicating either that Cecil does not trust his fortune, or that he fears some general calamity of the kingdom at large, which I myself (to speak freely), for reasons only too numerous, hold to be unavoidable.' It is instructive to read soon after, in the same despatches, that the king 'was yesterday a little disturbed by the populace, which ran together from all sides to see him. He fell into such anger upon this, that I was quite unable to appease him; he cursed every one he met, and swore that if they would not let him follow the chase at his pleasure, he would leave England. Words of passion which meant no harm, but calculated to draw upon him great contempt and inextinguishable hate from the people.'—'Consider,' writes the ambassador in the following year, 'for pity's sake, what must be the state and condition of a prince whom the

preachers publicly from the pulpit assail ; whom the comedians of the metropolis bring upon the stage ; whose wife attends these representations in order to enjoy the laugh against her husband ; whom the Parliament braves and despises ; and who is universally hated by the whole people.'—'I feel,' exclaims another French ambassador, 'as if the days of Henry III. were before my eyes. The people is overburthened, and no one is paid—but there are favourites here, as then.' At a later period, a third ambassador writes, 'audacious language, offensive pictures, calumnious pamphlets, *these usual fore-runners of a civil war*, are common here, and are symptoms doubly strong of the bitter temper of men's minds, because in this country men are in general better regulated, or, by the good administration of justice, are more kept within the sphere of their duties. Yet I doubt that any great action will come of it, inasmuch as the king will, in case of need, surely join the stronger party ; or the spirits which have been weakened by a long peace will take no hearty and dangerous resolution.'—'I am, in truth,' writes the ambassador elsewhere, 'the most unlucky of all who have ever filled such posts as mine ! They have facts to relate worthy of relation ; I such as appear unworthy of being committed to writing. My lot is fallen on a kingdom without order, sunken from its glory, and age-smitten by repose ; on a king devoted to his own nothingness, and whose principle it is only so far to strive for the good of his subjects as may give him facilities for plunging himself deeper into vice of every kind. He will not look around, he will not look before, but, nothing troubled as to object and aim, seeks only to gain time. Is it not a judgment of God on the king and his people, that he who rules so many millions, suffers himself to be ordered and reprimanded by a man without merit or virtue ? Must not such favourites, who sacrifice everything to their interests, and loose every tie, bring on civil wars ?'

Such was the condition to which England was reduced in less than twenty years from the accession of the House of Stuart ; and such was the prince who thought himself capable of establishing in England a despotic monarchy on the ruins of the Constitution.

In his very first Parliament, the privileges of the House of Commons having become matter of discussion, in consequence of the election of Sir Francis Goodwin for Buckinghamshire while he was an outlaw, the Speaker delivered a message from the king, in which he said that 'he had no purpose to impeach their privileges; *but since they derived all matters of privilege from him, and by his grant, he expected they should not be turned against him,* and that by the law the House ought not to meddle with returns, being all made into the Chancery, and to be corrected or reformed by that court only, into which they are returned.' This declaration, which of course strikes at the very root of parliamentary government, by allowing the crown to regulate at its will the choice of members of Parliament, having naturally excited the indignation of the Commons, the king was induced ultimately to admit the authority of the House as a court of record, and a judge of returns. The representatives of the nation, however, did not separate until they had drawn up 'an apology to the king touching their privileges,' which has too important a bearing on the general question between the House of Stuart and their Parliaments, to be passed over without especial notice. The House of Commons, on the 20th of June, 1604, only fifteen months after the death of Elizabeth, declare that 'against the assertions contained in the king's message, and arising from misinformation, tending directly and apparently to the utter overthrow of the very fundamental privileges of their House, and therein of the rights and liberties of the whole Commons of his realm of England, which they and their ancestors, from time immemorable, had undoubtedly enjoyed under his most noble progenitors, they, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, and in the name of the whole Commons of the realm of England, with uniform consent for themselves and their posterity, did expressly protest, as being derogatory in the highest degree to the dignity, liberty, and authority of his majesty's high court of Parliament, and consequently to the rights of all his majesty's said subjects, and the whole body of that his majesty's kingdom; and desired that this their protestation might be recorded to all posterity!

And contrarywise,' they continue, 'with all humble and due respect to your majesty our sovereign lord and head, against those misinformations we most truly avouch,—first, that our privileges and liberties are our right and due inheritance, no less than our very lands and goods: secondly, that they cannot be withheld from us, denied or impaired, but with apparent wrong to the whole state of the realm: thirdly, and that our making of request, in the entrance of Parliament, to enjoy our privilege, is an act only of manners, and doth weaken our right no more than our suing to the king for our lands by petition; which form, though new and more decent than the old by *precipe*, yet the subject's right is no less now than of old: fourthly, we avouch also, that our House is a court of record, and so ever esteemed: fifthly, that there is not the highest standing court in this land that ought to enter into competency, either for dignity or authority, with this high court of Parliament, which, with your majesty's royal assent, gives laws to other courts, but from other courts receives neither laws nor orders: sixthly, and lastly, we avouch that the House of Commons is the sole proper judge of returns of all such writs, and of the election of all such members as belong unto it, without which the freedom of election were not entire; and that the Chancery, though a standing court under your majesty, be to send out these writs and receive the returns, and to preserve them; yet the same is done only for the use of the Parliament, over which, neither the Chancery, nor any other court, ever had, or ought to have, any jurisdiction.

'From these misinformed positions, most gracious sovereign,' continues this bold protest, 'the greatest part of our troubles, distrusting, and jealousies have risen, *having apparently found, that in the first Parliament of the happy reign of your majesty, the privileges of our House, and therein the liberties and stability of the whole kingdom, have been more universally and dangerously impugned than (as we suppose) since the beginning of Parliaments.* Besides that, in regard of her (Queen Elizabeth's) sex and age, which we had great cause to tender, and much more, upon care to avoid all trouble, which by wicked practice might have been drawn to impeach the quiet of your ma-

jesty's right in the succession, those actions were then passed over, which we hoped, in succeeding time of freer access to your highness of renowned grace and justice, to redress, restore, and rectify ; whereas, contrarywise, in this Parliament, *which your majesty, in great grace (as we nothing doubt) intended to be a precedent for all Parliaments that should succeed,* clean contrary to your majesty's so gracious desire, by reason of these misinformations, *not privileges, but the whole freedom of the Parliament and realm have, from time to time, upon all occasions, been mainly hewed at.* As, first, the freedom of persons in our election hath been impeached ; secondly, the freedom of our speech prejudiced by often reproof ; thirdly, particular persons noted with taint and disgrace, who have spoken their consciences in matters proposed to the House, but with all due respect and reverence to your majesty : whereby we have been in the end subject to so extreme contempt, as a gaoler durst to obstinately withstand the decrees of our House ; some of the higher clergy to write a book against us, yea, to publish their protestations, tending to the impeachment of our most ancient and undoubted rights in treating of matters for the peace and good order of the church.' The last words of this remarkable declaration of rights which it is necessary to quote, may well serve as an epitome of the grounds on which during the seventeenth century the House of Commons contended against the pretensions of the Stuarts. ' What cause we, your poor Commons, have to watch over our privileges, is manifest in itself to all men. THE PREROGATIVES OF PRINCES MAY EASILY, AND DO DAILY GROW. THE PRIVILEGES OF THE SUBJECT ARE FOR THE MOST PART AT AN EVERLASTING STAND ! THEY MAY BE, BY GOOD PROVIDENCE AND CARE, PRESERVED ; BUT BEING ONCE LOST, ARE NOT RECOVERED BUT WITH MUCH DISQUIET ! If good kings were immortal, as well as kingdoms, to strive so for privilege were but vanity, perhaps, and folly ; but seeing the same God, who in his great mercy hath given us a pious king and religious, doth also sometimes permit HYPOCRITES and TYRANTS in his displeasure, and for the sins of the people, from hence shall the desire of rights, liberties, and privileges, both for nobles and commons, have its just original, by which an harmonical and

stable state is framed, each member under the head enjoying that right, and performing that duty which, for the honour of the head and happiness of the whole, is requisite !'

Can it be contended, after this declaration of rights, in the second year of the reign of James, that the Stuart line of princes entered on the government of this kingdom with an imperfect knowledge of their position as the heads of a limited monarchy, or that the rights, thus solemnly declared to be an inheritance derived from their ancestors, were two years before utterly unrecognised by the Constitution of this country ? If the contrary of these propositions is the truth, how is it possible to deny that the subsequent proceedings of the Stuarts were parts of a deliberate attempt to subvert the Constitution of England, and that the resistance offered to them by the English nation, and especially by the English Puritans, was a strictly conservative movement, based on the undoubted laws of England, and having for its single object the preservation of that spirit of liberty and life embodied in their outward forms ?

Well might Beaumont write, when emphatic warnings such as the above were being given to the House of Stuart : ' I recognise so many seeds of unsoundness in England, so much is brewing in silence, and so many events appear to be inevitable, as to induce me to maintain that for a hundred years to come this kingdom will hardly misuse its prosperity to any other purpose than its own injury.'

The low position to which England speedily sank in the scale of European nations fully justified the contemptuous disregard of her power exhibited in the preceding passage. The foreign policy of Elizabeth has been already described ; to this James pursued one diametrically opposite. He assumed to himself the character of a peace-maker, and whenever the reproaches of his people sought to divert him from his inglorious course, he rang the changes upon the blessings of peace. He attempted to explain and vindicate by this plea those disgraceful concessions to Spain and Austria which were simply the result of personal sloth, cowardice, and despotic predilections. If the ideas attached to the word 'peace' in the mind of James and his imitators in other

times are to be considered as correct, the name of one of the greatest of Christian virtues will have been converted, for all practical purposes, into one of the most formidable barriers to the progress of civilization and truth.

The reign of James I. was coeval with one of those eras in European politics which occur now and then, with the interval of centuries between them. According to the conduct of those who at such times hold in their hands the reins of government in the leading nations, the destinies of the world are moulded, and the general course of events accurately defined. The responsibility, therefore, which rests on princes and statesmen on such occasions is one of the greatest that can possibly be conceived. We ourselves are now, in the middle of the nineteenth century, continually experiencing the fatal results of the cowardly and disgraceful policy of James. A glance at the state of Europe at the period of his accession will sufficiently demonstrate the truth of this assertion. Clement VIII., who had occupied the chair of St. Peter from the year 1592, died in 1605, and was succeeded, first, by Leo XI., and then, in the same year, by Paul V. This last pontiff, who for sixteen years presided over the destinies of the church of Rome, was distinguished for ambition and for a strong desire to revive the claims of the Roman see to universal supremacy. Nor were the means requisite to this end wanting seemingly to his hands. Spain, the devoted child of the church, and the unscrupulous instrument of bigotry, still played an important part in European politics, though her power had been shaken and her reputation impaired by the judicious and unwavering hostility of Elizabeth. Besides the rich possessions of the new world, Portugal acknowledged the sway of the Spanish king, and Naples, Sicily, and Milan groaned under his heavy yoke. But a short time had elapsed since the fleet of Spain had earned the gratitude of Christian Europe by the splendid victory of Lepanto, which checked the advance of the Crescent, and secured the ascendancy of the Cross in the Mediterranean. The memories of the Armada were still dreadful to Protestant minds; and the days of the French League and the names of Alva and Parma were still fresh in their recollection. The

struggle of the United Provinces for independence continued, thanks to the co-operation of the English queen; but the early victories of the House of Orange had been latterly clouded by defeat. The star of Philip was again in the ascendant, and Flanders or the Low Countries were practically once more reduced under the power of the Spanish viceroy. The efforts of Maurice of Orange were restricted nearly to the defence of the northern provinces; and the fate of these depended greatly on the extent to which the undivided resources of Spain might be brought to bear on the contest. Nor was it only in itself that the monarchy of Spain was formidable to the liberties of Europe; for by its alliances Spanish influence prevailed from the west to the extreme east of that continent. Another branch of the family of Charles V. held the imperial sceptre of Germany, and reigned over the states of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Styria, and Silesia. As the head of the Catholic interest, the House of Hapsburg also exercised an immense influence over the governments of the German principalities which professed that faith. Of these the most powerful was the duchy of Bavaria, which under the rule of Maximilian took an active part on the side of the church of Rome. Sigismund, king of Poland, espoused warmly the same interest. This kingdom was then by no means despicable as an ally, for its troops were among the best in Europe; and quite recently it had placed its nominee on the throne of Russia, and occupied with its 'protecting' forces the Kremlin of Moscow. Sigismund was by birth a Swede, the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, and till 1604 possessed, at least in name, the crown of Sweden. He was a bigoted Catholic, and persecuted with all the fury of a renegade the unhappy Protestants of Poland. To this formidable league of popish princes, backed by the wealth of Rome, the Protestants of Europe opposed only a feebly organized resistance. There were the elements, it is true, of a powerful confederacy; but jealousies and cowardice prevented their concentration in a firm and united body. In Germany alone, had a proper spirit prevailed, there existed ample means for repressing the ambition of the Papal church. The Elector-palatine, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg,

the Margrave of Baden, the Palatine of Deux-Ponts, the Dukes of Brunswick, Weimar, and Wurtemberg, and the Palatine of Neuburg, with several minor princes, were professors of the Protestant faith, and formed a not unimportant array of names. But the grave differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists interposed to weaken the force of the alliance, and paralyse its effective operation. A diet held at Ratisbon, in 1608, under Ferdinand, Duke of Styria, as the representative of the emperor Matthias, led to the withdrawal of the Protestant princes, and to the temporary coalition of the Lutherans and Calvinists in the 'Protestant Union.' The imperial court, however, managed, by its artful professions of good-will, to prevent Christian II. of Saxony from joining the league. The director of the 'Union' was the Elector-palatine, and the chief military command was placed in the hands of the Margrave of Brandenburg. A military force was to be kept up for ten years, and an alliance to be formed with the Protestants of Austria. The alarm of the Protestants having produced the 'Protestant Union,' the fears of the Catholics, on the other hand, gave rise to the 'Catholic League,' which was constituted on the 10th of July, 1609, under the auspices of Maximilian of Bavaria. In the middle of the struggle which ensued, Henry IV. of France perished by the hand of Ravallac, a severe loss to the Protestant cause of Europe; for, although Henry had professed the Catholic religion, his position relatively to Spain, in the early years of his reign, and the natural interest of France in maintaining the balance of power on the Continent, had made him a powerful auxiliary to the Protestants against the House of Austria. A still more serious loss to the Protestant cause was the death, in 1610, of the Elector-palatine of the Rhine, Frederick IV., the soul of all the coalitions which had been formed against Rome. He was succeeded by his son Frederick V., a prince of but feeble powers of mind and frivolous pursuits. From this time the Protestant Union became weaker and weaker. The emperor Matthias had abandoned the rule of Bohemia to his nephew Ferdinand of Styria, who in 1616 was declared his heir to that kingdom, with the immediate title of king; and in 1618 the same prince

was elected king of Hungary, also in the lifetime of Matthias. Ferdinand was the pupil and friend of the Jesuits, and in 1600 is said to have made a vow at Loretto to restore the Romish church to its ancient glory and power on the ruins of Protestantism. The Jesuits, we are told, triumphed in their hopes of him, and the Pope, on his election, exhorted the Catholics to keep a day of jubilee, and to implore the aid of God for the church's high occasions.

Affairs, however, came to a crisis in Bohemia more rapidly than was anticipated. Ferdinand, who had begun his persecutions while in Styria, continued them in his new government; and at length the Bohemians rose in arms against him. On the 23rd of May, 1618, his advisers, the Counts Slewata and Martinitz, with their secretary Fabricius, were thrown out of the window of the council-chamber at Prague, by the enraged citizens. Although they escaped without injury, this act was the signal for a general war. The Count Thurn and the Estates of Bohemia established a provisional government, and raised forces under the command of the count. Their arms were victorious; the imperial armies under Generals Dampierre and Boucquay were routed, and Moravia and Silesia joined the conquerors. In the midst of this crisis, on the 20th of March, 1619, the emperor Matthias died. Hungary rose in revolt against Ferdinand, and Bethlen Gabor, the Protestant prince of Transylvania, a man of distinguished military talents, headed the insurgents. The Count Thurn, aided by the Protestant Estates of Upper and Lower Austria, marched to Vienna, and seizing on the person of Ferdinand, endeavoured to compel him to place himself at their head, and assent to their terms. But Ferdinand refused firmly, and was rescued by a party of horse despatched by Dampierre, under the command of Albert of Wallenstein. Thurn and the Bohemians withdrew northwards, and Ferdinand hastened to Frankfort, passing through Munich, and securing the support of the Elector of Bavaria. On the 28th of August he was elected Emperor of Germany. On the following day the Estates of Bohemia declared that, in consequence of his religious persecutions and his conspiring with Spain against the liberties of Bohemia, he had justly for-

feited the crown. They then elected the Palatine of the Rhine, Frederick V., as King of Bohemia in his room. To this step they were led principally by the facts, that not only had the electors-palatine been the recognised heads of the Protestants in Germany, but the present elector had married the daughter of the Protestant King of England, James I. They therefore counted confidently on the support of England in the contest which must ensue; and it was now that James was called upon to exhibit his peculiar views of foreign policy and national honour.

From the commencement of his reign the king had shown very decidedly in what direction his predilections lay. Almost his first act, after assuming the government, was to open negotiations with Spain, which resulted in a peace that nearly shut out England from all interference in the general politics of Europe. Deserted by their old ally, the United Provinces of Holland were glad, in the year 1609, to conclude a twelve-years truce with their former sovereign. This cessation, which ultimately resulted in a peace and a tacit recognition of the independence of the revolted states, was strongly opposed by the House of Orange and Henry of France, but carried by the influence of Barneveldt and the Arminian and oligarchical party in the States, who were suspected of Spanish tendencies, and at any rate dreaded the ascendancy which the continuance of the war gave to the Princes of Orange. Considered with respect to its possible consequences, this peace cannot be looked upon as honourable or desirable for the Dutch Provinces. It abandoned their brethren of the Low Countries to the mercies of Spain, and it enabled that power to devote its undistracted resources to the furtherance of the cause of despotism over the rest of Europe. The chances were great, that at the expiration of the twelve years Spain, having succeeded in its projects elsewhere, would resume the attempt to subjugate the Hollanders, and with the strongest prospect of success. No one could have anticipated the serious struggle in which the House of Austria became involved for the crown of Bohemia; and much less the rise of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, which checked the progress of the Catholic arms. Nor could the death of

Henry of France, which undoubtedly would have been a strong reason for the conclusion of a treaty with Spain, have entered into the consideration of the Dutch in forming the conclusion to which they came. Henry was then still in the vigour of life, and it seemed likely that on him they might safely count as a most able and willing ally in the continuance of the contest. The real excuse for their conduct is the part played by James of England. During the life of Robert Cecil, the recollections of Elizabeth's policy still hampered the king in his foreign negotiations, and compelled him to assume a firmer tone than he would otherwise have wished to do. Thus during the dispute respecting the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, his envoys took the Protestant side very openly; and it appeared to be his aim to have himself appointed arbitrator, with the evident intention, in that case, of deciding in favour of the claim of the Elector of Brandenburg. But the death of Cecil removed the only check upon the Spanish tendencies of the king. Thenceforward, to use the expressive words of a letter-writer of those days, 'that famous and immortal statesman, the Count of Gondomar,' the Spanish ambassador in England, 'fed King James his fancy, and rocked him asleep with the soft and sweet sound of peace, to keep up the Spanish treaty.' The pretences which cloaked this policy were of course specious in the extreme, and such as are not peculiar to that age. 'The wall of this island, the English navy, once the strongest of all Christendom, now lies at road unarmed, and fit for ruin; Gondomar (as was the common voice) bearing the king in hand that the furnishing of it would breed suspicion in the king his master, and avert his mind from this alliance. Moreover, the town of Flushing, the castle of Ramakins in Zealand, and Brill in Holland, which were held by way of caution from the United Provinces, to ensure their dependency upon England, the king resolved to render up, as being merely cautionary, and none of his property. He rid his hands of these places to prevent requests and propositions from the King of Spain, who claimed the property in them; and Gondomar put hard for them, being accounted the keys of the Low Countries. Such was the king's care and contrivance to keep faith with those

confederates; and not offend Spain; and to render this a politic action, it was argued that the advantage of those holds was countervailed by the vast expense in keeping them. Howbeit, the power of the English interest in that state was by this means cut off and taken away; and the alienation between King James and the United Provinces, which appeared in latter times, is now increased by the discovery and observation of these late Spanish compliances.' Another writer observes, that 'the Estates of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, those useful confederates to England, began to be despised by the English court, under a vain shadow, instead of a reason, that they were an ill example for a monarch to cherish.' Indeed, where the pretext of a love of peace failed the king, this latter notion, that the natural allies of this country were the despotic powers of the Continent, stepped in and completed the degradation of England in the scale of nations. As early as May, 1604, the French ambassador writes to King Henry that 'the spirit of the English is buried in the grave of Elizabeth!'

Had James possessed the least spark of zeal for that Protestant cause of which, in his own esteem, he was at once the head and the moderator, he might have opened to Europe an era of national advancement and true liberty, which in its moral effects would have rivalled the days of Luther and Calvin. Mere policy itself, and that kingcraft of which he was so fond, should have dictated to him the necessity of preserving the balance of power in Europe. Again, to prevent the destruction of Protestantism by putting a stop to the persecutions to which it was subjected on the Continent, was a matter of national honour, and this could only be effected by curbing the power of that family which was pledged to an unremitting hostility to the Protestant religion. Lastly, if private honour were to be of any value, and personal respect from the princes of Europe were a thing to be desired, how could these be secured or obtained except by a strenuous support to the husband of his daughter? The Elector-palatine of the Rhine had committed no sin against international law by accepting the crown of Bohemia. However long connected with one family, it was strictly an independent crown,

the bestowal of which rested with the Bohemians. In accepting the dignity, Frederick had merely shown a wish not to desert, in such an emergency, the high post which his ancestors had held of the leaders of the continental Protestants, and he had only followed the wisest policy which could have been adopted by the Protestant states in endeavouring to untie that bundle of ill-assorted principalities which, by fair or foul means, had been collected under the Hapsburg rule. The vicissitudes of the struggle which ensued, proved that if England had played her proper part in the politics of Europe, despotism, spiritual and political, would have fallen before her emancipating arms.

Nor was the king without honest councillors to tell him of his duty, and to point out the importance of the crisis. George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to Sir Robert Manton, the king's secretary, gives his monarch this noble advice: 'That God had set up this prince, his majesty's son-in-law, as a mark of honour throughout all Christendom, to propagate the Gospel, and to protect the oppressed. That for his own part he dares not but give advice to follow where God leads, apprehending the work of God in this and that of Hungary. That he was satisfied in conscience that the Bohemians had just cause to reject that proud and bloody man, who had taken a course to make that kingdom not elective, in taking it by the donation of another. Therefore let not a noble son be forsaken for their sakes who regard nothing but their own ends. Our striking-in will comfort the Bohemians, honour the palsgrave, strengthen the princes of the Union, draw on the United Provinces, stir up the King of Denmark, and the palatine's two uncles, the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Bouillon, together with Tremouille, a rich prince in France, to cast in their shares. Therefore let all our spirits be gathered up to animate this business, THAT THE WORLD MAY TAKE NOTICE THAT WE ARE AWAKE WHEN GOD CALLS!'

But this warning fell on unheeding ears. James was deaf to everything which seemed to oppose his darling project of a Spanish alliance for his eldest son; and to this wretched phantom he sacrificed the interests of England, his own

honour, and the liberties of Europe. Having to act on the spur of the moment, and in a matter which admitted of no delay, the elector-palatine did not await the answer of James before accepting the crown of Bohemia. This was pretext enough for his father-in-law. It is impossible to follow him through the tortuous paths of his degraded policy ; but the result is well known. After a severe struggle, the cause of the palatine and of freedom sank before the enormous resources of its enemies. On the 8th of November, 1620, was fought the battle of Prague, or of the White Mountain. Frederick's army was totally routed, and he fled to Breslau, where he was joined by his family. Bohemia lay at the mercy of the conquerors. The severities exercised in the conquered country were terrible. Even seven years after this battle, thirty thousand of the most industrious artisans, and two hundred of noble or knightly rank were driven forth to seek shelter in Prussia, Saxony, Holland, and Switzerland. Estates worth forty millions of florins fell into the hands of the emperor. In Silesia and Austria the same cruelty and bad faith were displayed towards the Protestants. After an ineffectual revolt of the peasantry in Upper Austria, an ordinance was issued that all the nobility who persevered in their refusal to conform to popery should quit the country. On the 12th of April, 1621, the Protestant German states bound themselves to a neutrality in the contest, and on the 24th of May following the 'Protestant Union' was dissolved. A few of the Protestant leaders still continued the struggle ; chiefly Count Mansfeld, Christian of Brunswick, and the margrave George of Baden. These gained some successes, and though they were once or twice defeated, Mansfeld contrived, on the whole, to maintain the upper hand against Tilly. Then it was that James I. interfered—not to save, but to complete the ruin of his son-in-law. Stimulated by Spain, he persuaded Frederick it would be well for him to show a pacific disposition, and dismiss Mansfeld and Christian. He did so ; and the only two leaders who could have saved his principality retired into Holland. The storm then fell on the palatinate itself. Mannheim and Heidelberg fell before Tilly, who sent the library at the former place as a

present to Pope Gregory XV., and ravaged the whole country without distinction. In January, 1623, at a meeting of electors at Ratisbon, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, was invested with the title of elector during his lifetime, with a reservation for the sons and collateral heirs of Frederick. Against this deprivation of that unfortunate prince, the Duke of Neuburg, and the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony protested; but when on the 30th June Maximilian took his seat on the electoral bench, all but the first gave in, and abandoned the cause of Frederick. Stripped of his dominions, the son-in-law of the King of England ultimately died in miserable exile, leaving his wife and children to the guardian care of the Prince of Orange. Throughout the rest of his reign James made ineffectual efforts to obtain the restitution of the palatinate by the intercession of Spain. But though the wily monarchs of that country constantly held out hopes of this boon as a lure to their wretched dupe, their half-promises were never realized; and it was not until the general peace in 1648, which ended the Thirty Years War, that the eldest son of the palatine was restored to the electoral honours and a small portion of the dominions of his ancestors. A few miserably-equipped and ill-managed expeditions, half-countenanced and half-denounced by the king, were all the material aid that England lent to the cause of liberty and Protestantism during the reign of the first Stuart.

Before quitting the subject of the foreign policy of James, another point must be noticed, in which his conduct differed for the worse from that of his predecessor, and which had also a most injurious influence on the subsequent history of Europe. The assistance afforded by Elizabeth to France against the power of Spain, had been the means of ensuring protection and toleration to the French Protestants. This was the price which Henry willingly paid for the English alliance. But when James abandoned the interests of Protestantism, and slighted the friendship of the House of Bourbon, the French court no longer felt itself constrained to persevere in this tolerant policy, and gradually the position of the Huguenots altered for the worse. At a somewhat later period the Stuarts did not content themselves with a desertion

of their Protestant brethren, but also assisted in the reduction of their last strongholds. The decay of this party, the Puritans of France, had a fatal effect on the character of the French nation ; for liberty too, of which they had been the jealous guardians, disappeared with them ; and a despotic monarchy, which drank up all the spirit of the people, filled the annals of France, for nearly two hundred years, with the records of thoughtless debauchery in the nobles, and abject wretchedness in their degraded dependents. An intelligent middle class nearly ceased to exist ; and when the hour of retribution arrived, it was found that the ordinary virtues of civilization had perished with the institutions with which they had been associated.

Such was the foreign policy of the Stuarts.*

* I have made some use, in this sketch of European politics, of the historical summary in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, and of recent works on Hungary.

II.

PURITANISM: RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL.

IT is extremely difficult to define PURITANISM without giving it a more dogmatic character than it really possessed. Perhaps we shall obtain the best definition by exhibiting in historical order the varying features which successively it assumed. The history of Puritanism, down to the year 1628, resolves itself into three stages, which mark the various relations from which its peculiarities sprang.* The first terminates when the government of Elizabeth distinctly exhibited its determination to insist upon uniformity in all the rites and ceremonies which had been retained by the English Church in its secession from Rome. The second has its first definite manifestation about the year 1570, when Puritanism, being refused toleration in minor ceremonial differences, underwent a change in its character, and appeared as the antagonist of the Anglicans on the question of church government. Again, the year 1618, in which the synod of Dort was held, marks the close of a period during which the Anglican authorities were generally in unison with the mass of the Puritans on doctrinal points. Almost immediately after this date, the rulers of the church, under the auspices of James I., abandoned their former tenets, and adopting Arminian principles, approximated on this and other points to the rule of faith at Rome. In speaking of these several periods, Puritanism may be regarded in contrast with Ro-

* In this historical summary I have availed myself of the chapter on the 'Puritans' in Mr. Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, and still more of a very valuable and interesting volume, *A Retrospect of the Religious Life of England*, by the Rev. J. J. Tayler. In more than one instance I found that my own thoughts, already on paper, had been anticipated, in much happier language, by Mr. Tayler.

manism, in its differences from Anglicanism, and in its variations within itself.

The leading principle of the Reformation was that the mind of man should be brought into communion with God in as direct and purely spiritual a manner as the perfections of the Creator and the imperfections of the creature would permit. Hence religion was regarded as a personal relation, which, by combination with other similar relations, might constitute the complex one called 'the church of Christ,' but which possessed a power of individual action, where the joint operation was not expressly prescribed. In short, it was held, avowedly or tacitly, that the Christian church arose from the union of individual Christians ; and that any sanctity attaching to it in that character, sprang from the adherence of its individual members to the rules of Christian faith. The result of this principle was a tendency among reformers to regard with unequivocal dislike tenets or ceremonies which seemed to interpose between the Deity and his creatures any intermediate agency, material or human, or which supplied the place of individual communion by material forms. But the extent to which practically this feeling was carried varied considerably in different countries. In England the changes produced by it in the Established church were by no means inconsiderable. Public worship was simplified, and the laity admitted to a great extent to a share in its exercises ; the services were conducted in the English tongue, and a beautiful Liturgy gave full utterance to the devotion which had hitherto struggled vainly to express itself in the comparatively feeble Latinity of the Middle Ages ; homilies or sermons in the native tongue became more frequent ; images and pictures were removed from the churches ; the adoration of the Host ceased ; fasts and penances were allowed to sink into disuse ; auricular confession was left to the same fate ; indulgences were rejected, and the existence of purgatory denied ; the independence of the English church of papal supremacy was asserted, and its existence and government were placed on the basis of parliamentary authority. The Anglican doctrine restored the written word of God to its importance relatively to tradi-

tional observances, and in its English dress it was asserted to form the sole authoritative rule of faith and practice. During the greater part of the long reign of Elizabeth the doctrine of the distinct order and apostolical succession of the clergy met with little support from the ruling powers in the church. It was, indeed, so clearly opposed to the real interests of the crown, that we cannot wonder at the keensighted Elizabeth failing to lend it her countenance. Dispensations also were too dangerous to the queen personally not to be at once proscribed. The intercessory worship of the Virgin and saints was wholly rejected ; monachism was suppressed ; and the marriage of the clergy tolerated, though discouraged by the royal displeasure, and still held under the terror of a statute of Mary.

Such was the stage to which the Reformation in England had been carried by royal authority, on the re-establishment of Protestantism at the accession of Elizabeth. The angry discussion which had taken place at Frankfort among the Protestant exiles had been closely connected with the realization of the leading idea of the Reformation. Several ceremonies had been objected to by some as inconsistent with this principle, the retention of which had been with equal strenuousness advocated by others. Such were the use of the tippet and surplice, of the cross in baptism, and of a consecrated font ; kneeling at the communion, and bowing at the name of Jesus ; the employment of the ring in the marriage ceremony, and of organs in divine worship ; the erection or retention of painted windows in churches ; and the observance of saints' days. The surplice, it was maintained, was the recognised symbol of the priestly character, and might have a tendency to recal the doctrine of a merely human intercessor standing between God and man. The cross in baptism, and the consecrated font might, they said, easily bring back with them the exorcism accompanying the rite of baptism in the Roman-catholic church. The observance of saints' days would suggest the adoration held to be due to those saints. Kneeling at the communion had its tacit reference to the *conversion* of the consecrated wafer. Organs and chanting in churches were held to savour of the

substitution of material and artificial agencies for the worship of the heart in which a whole congregation could unite. To retain such ceremonies (it was argued), even were they innocent in themselves, was extremely dangerous in the English church which had so recently emerged from Romanism. In answer to this, the necessary connexion between these ceremonies and the doctrines of Rome was denied; and it was maintained that they were so closely associated with the feelings and wants of many Protestants that, should they be laid aside, it was to be feared that the worship of the English church might become utterly distasteful to these persons, and that they would seek the freer expression of their religious aspirations in the ceremonial of Rome. However, the general current of Protestantism ran strongly the other way. Jewel, Grindal, Sandys, Nowell, and other eminent churchmen were decidedly in favour of their abolition. In 1562 a proposition to abolish most of them was lost only by a single vote in the convocation of the clergy. The ceremonies were very frequently laid aside in particular parishes, and in London insults were heaped on those who continued to observe them. But the queen, as we have seen, was determined to enforce the rule of uniformity, and to retain the obnoxious observances. 'Everywhere the most earnest and praiseworthy ministers were deprived of their livings or prohibited from exercising their clerical duties,' on account of their nonconformity. 'Even Coverdale, who had been Bishop of Exeter during the reign of Edward VI., could not escape the wrath of the ecclesiastical inquisitors.' When the queen thus insisted on complete uniformity, Puritanism advanced a step; and three years of persecution produced the natural results of a more determined resistance and greater estrangement from the Anglican church.

In 1570 the gauntlet of defiance was thrown down by Thomas Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. We have already seen that the leading doctrine of the Reformation was the freedom of personal communion with God without the interposition of human authority. This broad principle manifested itself among other things in a rigid adherence to the text of Scripture as a divine record of

the communications between God and his creatures, and as therefore affording the sole legitimate basis for their duties to Him and to one another. Unflinching 'Scripturalists' maintained that Scripture proved its own truth without the necessity of having recourse to external evidence—they explained Scripture from and by itself. Tradition, as an earthly vessel, they treated with comparative contempt; and human observances in religion unprescribed by Scripture they held in increasing dislike. It has been customary to confound this Scripturalism with Protestantism itself; but it is properly but one manifestation of the spirit of that movement. Among the dignitaries of the English reformed church it had at first greater force than was afterwards the case. Antagonism produced its usual results; but these were counteracted by the peculiar position of the Anglicans with reference to the state. This led to the admission of tradition to a certain rank in the Anglican system. Seizing upon the period when, as they imagined, Christianity made its first step into the errors of Romanism, they allowed the sufficiency of all tradition previous to this in explaining and developing the text of Scripture. Still, in the words of the sixth article of faith, they held that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' And while declaring (in the 20th article) that 'the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith,' they add, 'and yet it is not lawful for the church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another.' At the same time, the jurisdiction over the ceremonies of the church exercised by the civil power, led to the adoption of what are called Erastian views among a large part of the higher clergy. The government of the church came to be regarded less with reference to the Bible than as a branch of the civil government, to be regulated and modified in a similar manner. There had always been a certain leaning towards scripturalism among the Puritans, from their

partaking so strongly of the dislike to tradition ; but their views had been generally so Erastian, that no marked difference between the Anglicans and themselves on this point had as yet arisen. Now, however, Cartwright added to the doctrine of the complete sufficiency of Scripture as an exposition of the Divine will, the tenet that there was contained in the Bible a prescribed form of national church government, and that this was in its character Presbyterian. The rise of this, which has been called 'HIGH PRESBYTERIANISM,' needs little explanation. The tyranny of the bishops led naturally to a question of their authority ; the exercise of the queen's prerogative to doubts as to its proper sphere. To the church government established by the queen Cartwright opposed the system which he held to be dictated by God. The divine right of presbytery was then first asserted. The supporters of this doctrine were greatly distracted by the choice to which the queen reduced them of conformity or untolerated separation. Their theory demanded a national and not a sectarian church, and the achievement of the former seemed practically cut off. Holding the opinion of the right divine of the presbytery, they were led to insist on its independence of secular control. Anglicanism, which appeared to be founded merely on the will of the sovereign, might be with justice subjected to that sovereign's control ; but presbytery rested, they deemed, on higher grounds. The position, indeed, occupied by the High Presbyterians of the reign of Elizabeth, resembles greatly the attitude recently assumed by the Free Church of Scotland. The result in Elizabeth's time was, that some seceded, though with much the same feelings towards the Established church as those of modern Methodists ; others remained in the church, but sought concealment by becoming chaplains to laymen of Presbyterian opinions. But a strong though secret attachment to Presbyterianism infected a considerable body of the clergy who yet retained their parochial functions ; and in the year 1590 this had so increased, that 'an open attempt was made by Cartwright and his party to set up a regular platform of government on that system, by synods and classes, or meetings of particular districts, the ministers composing them subscribing to the

Puritan book of discipline. In several counties these associations were actually formed ; nor was it until the terrors of the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Star-chamber had been called into requisition, that this dangerous movement was suppressed.'

In considering, however, the High Presbyterianism of Elizabeth's time, we must not confound it or make it co-extensive with Puritanism itself. Although it was a stage in the progress of religious opinion among a large part of the Puritans, still other forms of development existed among a minority of those to whom this name was ordinarily given. Lollardism, the features of which were much less akin to any system of ecclesiastical discipline, still existed, its adherents at first bearing the name of 'Gospellers,' 'Known Men,' or 'Just Fast-Men,' and being chiefly of humble origin. 'In Mary's time they assembled secretly in London, often on board the vessels in the river, to the number of from forty to two hundred ; and towards the end of her reign this congregation had increased greatly, and one of their ministers, Mr. Bentham, a learned man and a scholar of Oxford,' on conforming to the church at the accession of Elizabeth, 'was thought worthy of the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry.' Hatred to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the intervention of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, were the characteristics of this party during the reign of Elizabeth ; and these feelings 'found a wild and turbulent utterance in the tracts of Martin Marprelate, and were the parents of those remarkable sects in the succeeding century which bore the names of ANABAPTISTS, FIFTH-MONARCHY MEN, and QUAKERS.' Upon them, as may be imagined, the wrath of queen and church was poured forth largely, and 'Penry, an enthusiastic and eloquent young Welshman,' suffered the extreme penalty of death for being concerned in some of their libellous tracts.

Occupying a middle position between the High Presbyterians and the Gospellers, there appeared towards the end of Elizabeth's reign another phase of Puritanism. The impossibility of obtaining any general government of the church which would admit of the introduction of popular

feeling, turned the attention of stricter Puritans to the case of individual congregations. The difficulty of procuring uniformity was sought to be lessened by narrowing the sphere of authority. If the whole church could not bear the shackles of an immutable formulary of faith and discipline, might not this be applied to individual congregations, voluntarily associated on fixed and definite grounds? Thus, rejecting alike the centralization of presbytery and the individualism of the Gospellers, they endeavoured to form into INDEPENDENT groups the various manifestations of religious opinion which were spread over the country. Within each group they enforced rigorously the canons of its own ecclesiastical discipline. Such was the original conception embodied in 'Brownism,' or 'INDEPENDENCY,' which, commencing under the auspices of Browne and Barrowe, both gentlemen of education and good connexions, spread, by the impolitic agency of persecution and exile, both in this country and Holland, and finally divided with Presbyterianism the sway in Puritan bosoms. There was nothing in Independency inconsistent with a connexion between church and state; nor, as a body, can a desire of emancipation from state control be attributed to it: but Elizabeth regarded it with unqualified aversion, and perhaps thought its discipline the more dangerous because it might be the more easily carried out. At any rate, it was not likely that she would regard with favour the removal of the diocesan jurisdiction of the bishops, which, through them, afforded her so firm a hold on the government of the church. Therefore, from the commencement, the Independents were necessarily 'Separatists,' and their leaders pointed the finger of scorn at the bulk of the Presbyterians, who, notwithstanding their theory of the divine institution of presbytery, remained in the fold of a prelatic church.

Upon the character of the Church of England these Puritan manifestations without and within produced a remarkable effect. Hitherto little stress had been laid by the authorities of the church on the Episcopalian system, and it had been regarded, in common with the ecclesiastical discipline generally, as an arrangement which depended on the will of the

crown expressed through the medium of Parliament. But these incessant attacks on the jurisdiction of the bishops, fixed attention more and more on their functions, and, by a natural change in public opinion, led to the advancement of a claim to divine institution for episcopacy and the Anglican system, similar to that which Cartwright had advanced in behalf of presbytery. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign a new generation of churchmen was arising, who sought to engage with the scriptural Presbyterians, from the opposing ground of tradition. The degrading subserviency also of the bishops to the crown, during the first stage of the Reformation, led to a strong desire, on the part of sincere and earnest churchmen, to place their authority on a more respectable and stable foundation than the caprices of the monarch. Many abuses which had been considered as peculiar to the civil authorities had, by undue contact, crept into the ecclesiastical office, and the sacred ideas attached to the word 'church' seemed to be giving way fast to the coarser conceptions of worldly policy. It is singular enough, that the spirit of ecclesiastical reform should have manifested itself at the same time in two such opposite directions, and that in one case it should have pointed to mental freedom, in the other to ecclesiastical authority.

On the death of Elizabeth and accession of the House of Stuart, many were the speculations in his southern kingdom concerning the disposition of the new king on the great question of religion. Every one is aware, that most of the anticipations formed on this subject were signally disappointed, and yet, on consideration, they will not appear to us at all absurd. Who could have expected to meet with an advocate of high-church doctrines in a prince nursed up in the bosom of a Puritan church, and taught to consider religion in the light of simple antagonism to Rome? in one who, as late as the year 1590, 'standing uncovered, in the presence of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, and with hands lifted up to heaven, exclaimed that 'He thanked the Almighty that he was born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and such a place as to be king of such a church, the sincerest kirk in the world? The church of Geneva,' continued he, 'keep Pascha and Yule, what have they for them?

They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your *purity*, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same.' Who would have looked for a defender of high episcopacy in a prince who, even as late as the year 1598, spoke of '*papistical* and *Anglican* bishops' as evils he was far from wishing to introduce; and within twelve months of Elizabeth's decease pledged himself to the General Assembly as determined to 'stand by the church of which he was the sovereign, and to prove the advocate of its ministry?'* The only and very simple solution of this language, so inconsistent with his conduct immediately afterwards, lies in the detestable hypocrisy of James; a fault common to all the English princes of his race, but in which he stands pre-eminent. How, then, could it be expected that Englishmen would arrive at such an interpretation of his speeches in Scotland, until they had learnt by bitter experience the proper light in which to regard the words and professions of a Stuart king? But, although James took at once, on his accession to the English throne, a decided position against the Puritan party, and in the conferences at Hampton-court showed clearly his intention to persevere in the intolerant course of policy which had been initiated by Elizabeth, still the influence of Cecil and some others of that queen's old councillors, joined to the imprudent machinations of the Roman-catholics, was sufficient to prevent him at first from manifesting any open sympathy with that party among the Anglicans which was approximating rapidly in its theory to the Romish standard. But as the spirit of Puritanism became more and more prevalent in the Houses of Parliament, the king took refuge more and more in doctrines which seemed to reconcile the pretensions of crown and church to a divine authority, and to exalt them equally at the expense of the free thought of the nation. It has been said, appa-

* Vaughan's *History of England from the Accession of the House of Stuart to the Revolution of 1689*.

rently with truth, that Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, unintentionally supplied the first step towards these high-church doctrines, by that abstract generalization in which he regarded all forms of government, both in church and state, as deriving their authority from an implied sanction from the Deity. Seizing hold of this abstract truth, which in Hooker was combined with a recognition 'of the free choice and judgment of man as links in the vast chain of supreme legislation, carrying with them, in their enduring results, the clear evidence of a divine sanction to the thoughtful mind,' they hardened it into 'a positive institution of authority direct from God, descending unbroken from age to age, independent of human approval and beyond human control.'* It was not strange that Elizabeth, who had resources peculiar to herself, should have discouraged the creation of an authority such as this, having superior claims to deference to royalty itself, and that she should have preferred a church which owned no basis but a royal creation; and, on the other hand, it was to be expected that James, destitute both of Elizabeth's talents and resources, should prefer an alliance with a kindred system to an administration of the church shared with the House of Commons. So it was evidently the interest of the high-church party to impress upon the minds of men the same idea of a perpetual and infallible depository of government in civil affairs that they sought to establish in religion; and as the latter soon asserted its natural position relatively to the secular power, the result was that, instead of the king's church, we had the church's king.

How strongly the feelings of Puritans would be enlisted against this theory need hardly be pointed out. They suddenly found a church of doctrines and offices interposed between the Deity and the worshipper, instead of that church of living members of which the worshipper, in his personal and separate religious existence, still might form a constituent part. Instead of the tenet that the Bible was the sole and self-interpreting exponent of doctrine and duty, they

* Tayler's *Retrospect* &c.

were startled by the rule of faith that Scripture, where it is plain, should guide the church ; but that it belonged to the church alone—such a church as I have described—to expound Scripture, when there was any doubt or difficulty. And, to crown all, they found that a system so dangerous to their religious freedom was to be removed from all cognizance of the civil power, at least in Parliament, and that this concession on the part of the crown was to be rewarded by throwing the sanction of religion over a policy destructive of their civil liberties. As the ideas of civil and religious liberty were thus brought into nearer association, the Puritan controversy assumed more of a political character ; and it was the position of the House of Commons relatively to the crown, rather than the ‘ divine origin ’ of any particular system of church government, which occupied the attention of the Puritans during the earliest portion of the seventeenth century.

But at the very time that Puritanism thus became identified with the principle of civil liberty, another change in its character as a religious movement exercised an important influence on the nature of the contest on which it had entered. Hitherto the differences between the Anglicans and the Puritans related simply to matter of church government and ceremonies. Henceforward, however, they also embraced doctrinal questions. This was the inevitable consequence of the rise of high-church principles. Whatever be our judgment respecting the truth of Calvinism, and whatever the forms which it may at times practically assume, it is an undoubted fact that its *theory* is consistent with a *personal* religion only. Whether the relations which it establishes between God and man are correct or not, they are essentially personal relations. The covenant respects the individual and not the church, the efficacy is in the mind of the worshipper, and not in the nature of the outward worship. Not only are works of supererogation rejected as impossible, but the complete fulfilment of the law gives no claim to heaven. It is the grace of God which has no depository on earth but the elect heart, that alone opens the gates of eternal happiness. And this is the reason why Calvinism was at first nearly

co-extensive with Protestantism. Gradually its boundaries became narrowed. On the Continent the Lutherans, whose conceptions of church government had always leant more to the side of clerical authority, abandoned the tenets on which Luther had insisted so strongly, and sought for others, which might be distinguished from, while they approximated to, those of Rome. Instead of justification by faith, an attempt was made to erect a Protestant doctrine of good works. Hence arose Arminianism, which spread rapidly in the Dutch states, and thence passed over into England. The doctrine that all men *might* be saved, left it to each church to frame the rules by a compliance with which that end might be attained. There was nothing in this which prevented the interposition of church authority as an essential in the scheme of salvation—nothing which was inconsistent with the denial of the right of private judgment. It is not at all wonderful, then, that we should find such a doctrine associated with, and at last almost identified with, the high sacerdotalism which was beginning to be the characteristic of the Anglican church; or that we should see a tenet which permitted the absence of personal freedom of thought, denounced as another name for arbitrary power and passive obedience. Arminianism had also an equivalent in the Roman-catholic church which was still more odious to the English Puritan. Calvin, by the extent to which he pushed the doctrines of Augustine, awakened the Papal see to a sense of the danger which lurked in tenets to which it had hitherto given the sanction of its authority. We shall not, therefore, be surprised to find in the Jesuits, who became the great champions of the Roman-catholic system against the Reformers, the determined opposers also of Calvinism, and virtually the disciples of Arminius. While such were the associations of Arminianism, Puritanism of course became its antagonist, and as such, leant to Calvinism. And now the only thing wanting to confirm this alliance was supplied by the vacillation of King James. Arminianism, we have seen, was consistent with more than one scheme of salvation. Thus heresy, as well as sacerdotalism, became associated with its name. In this respect Calvinism, with its stern exclusiveness,

presented a more gratifying aspect. Both king and Puritans shuddered at the Arian doctrines, with which, it was reported, the most eminent leaders of the Arminians in Holland were tainted. That King James should grasp the whole of a question was impossible; he saw only the heresy of the Arminian Vorstius, and accordingly his representatives at the synod of Dort, in the year 1618, were instructed to support the orthodox Calvinists. But when this dangerous phase of Arminianism was suppressed, there was no reason why the king should continue his aversion to its tenets. When associated with high-church doctrines, they speedily recommended themselves to his favour. In a short time, Arminian became a synonym for orthodox or court doctrines. Calvinism, of course, became, in proportion, puritanical. A new class of Puritans arose, in the bosom of the church, who were distinguished from the rest of the Anglicans, not by an opposition to episcopacy, but by an adherence to Calvinism; and these received the name of Doctrinal Puritans. The accession of this body swelled greatly the immediate force of Puritanism in the House of Commons, at the same time that it rendered less definite its ultimate aim. It is important to observe that the differences of the Puritans, which produced in later years such remarkable results, originated in the very constitution of the party. We may also deduce that it was on the proper ground of Puritanism, the direct intercourse of the individual mind with God, that Calvinism became its distinguishing feature; and that if the other tenets of that faith were generally found to prevail among Puritans, this was the effect either of an intimate connexion between these tenets and the great principle of Puritanism, or of a spirit of antagonism to the high-church Arminianism of the Anglican authorities. This may explain why in Holland, where that antagonism was not called into existence, the leading characteristics of Puritanism were found conjoined with the faith of Arminius; and why, in England, on the fall of the Anglican church, a section of the Puritans adopted openly Arminian views. It was, then, on the point of personal religion, and not of religious exclusiveness, that Puritanism assumed the features of Calvinism; it was on the idea of the possibility of a human

depository of authority, and not of religious catholicity, that King James adopted Arminianism.

Such is the history of Puritanism as a Religious Theory ; we may now examine it as a Social System. We have seen what Puritanism professed to be ; it has now to be described what Puritans really were. It may easily be imagined that principles such as the above produced remarkable effects on the character and habits of those who embraced them. To realize to our minds a Puritan as he existed at the commencement of the reign of Charles I. is even more difficult than to gain just ideas of the general aspects of Puritanism. In every case, indeed, social life is the least easily disinterred in its reality and integrity of all the memorials of the past. We are ourselves, in our thoughts, so much the bondslaves of the existing forms of society, that it is one of the most difficult tasks to which the mind of man can be subjected to call back again before the eyes of the present age the every-day life of the by-gone centuries. So greatly do these, in their exterior, differ from the world around us, that, unless we exercise care and discrimination, we may be led to portray a state of society which could not be an expression of any of the motives of human action now recognised among us. Though the peculiar events of the age may have called forth and given a more luxuriant growth to certain principles of the human mind, we must not consider this excess in one part as negating the existence of the others, or as constituting a generic difference in the mind itself. As it is with the individual, that if his peculiarities alone are considered, we might fritter away the general expression 'man' into ten thousand petty personal definitions, so is it with the differences in the ages. We may still recognise, in the forms of the Puritan mind, either standing forth in bolder relief, or escaping cursory observation, the familiar objects of our own experience.

The *rationale* of the social features of Puritanism lies in the personal character of the religion which it inculcated. The relations between God and each human mind were immediate and most intimate ; the belief in an overruling and constantly supporting Providence was intense ; the efficacy of

prayer, not as a mere beneficial exercise for the human mind, but as the appointed means for communion with an ever closely present God, was universally acknowledged. The idea of a personal conflict with the author of evil was constantly and vividly realized. To the Puritan, 'God' was no mere convenient formula for expressing the balance of the powers of the universe; 'Satan' was no grotesque figure-piece of Middle-age mythology—no unexplained disturbing phenomenon in modern psychology. To the Puritan, God was really *by* the side as well as *on* the side of right in its conflicts with wrong. Satan was personally in the field, struggling, with no regulated reserves of strength, to destroy the souls of men. On the one side demons tempted in audible tones; on the other, the 'still small voice' spoke in secret to the soul of the believer, or openly and manifestly to all but the wilfully deaf and blind, God proclaimed His approval or displeasure in a revelation of 'events.'

Such a feeling as this, if alone, might have produced as frequently pious enthusiasts and high-souled mystics as sound, practical Christians. Another influence, however, secured the Puritan in a great measure from the consequences of an overwrought spiritualism. Though with respect to theories of church government, 'scripturalism' may be said to have receded among the Puritans from the high ground it assumed in the reign of Elizabeth, on every other point it had become a still more prominent feature of Puritanism. The whole Bible, as the very words of God Himself, a written revelation in strict harmony with the hourly expressions of God's will to the human soul and in the world, was authoritative to every age, since God could not contradict Himself. If in its practical deductions this belief sometimes narrowed and distorted the Puritan view of duty, it gave definiteness and solidity to his religious conceptions. Drawn by the absorbing conviction of a Divine presence within its pages, the Puritan threw himself into all the events and arguments of the Bible in an eagerness of realization, to which his spiritual communings only lent additional strength. It has been observed that there is nothing which the whole Bible breathes forth more certainly than a true, because a high-toned,

common-sense. Those who read or are told of the enthusiasm of the Puritans, often express wonder at the strong practical sagacity which formed so indisputable a feature of their character. They cannot understand how the man who could discourse for the hour together on Israel and Amalek, and seemed to regard English affairs through a cloud of Jewish national animosities—who prayed on strange and unconventional occasions, in language neither tempered nor ‘rational’—who interposed in political discussions the embarrassing question, whether God had not delivered the ‘man of blood’ into their hands as a providential ‘beckoning’ to ‘cleanse the earth of blood?’—and who drew his similes in writing and speaking from the Old and New Testaments instead of the classics—could have performed the works of high practical statesmanship achieved by the Puritan councillors and rulers of England. They forget that the Bible came to the Puritan of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with all the attractions of a newly-recovered and still-disputed treasure, and sank into his mind with the depth of personally realized convictions. Its phraseology had not then become superficially conventional among professing believers—a traditional dialect, of which the etymology had perished. It was used frequently because it seemed to be so frequently required, as the naturally suggested expression or illustration of human action. It was not ‘cant’ with the *true* Puritan, because it conveyed too real and definite an idea to his mind to be intruded on any but what he considered strictly appropriate occasions. Whatever may have been the conduct of some who bore the name, but travestied the spirit of Puritanism, the feeling of the real Puritan did not differ from that expressed by one of his own newspaper writers, that ‘Scripture should be drawn out with all the gravity and reverence we can, and not made to lackey to every fancy we have, and to prove our own uncertainties and passions and revenges.’* It was because he felt a necessary and momentous connexion between the words of Scripture and his own situation, that the Puritan employed them so often. If he carried this habit to excess, he was not, perhaps,

* *Mercurius Britannicus*, Feb. 19–26, 1644.

on the whole, "more tiresome than our modern conversational echoes of the popular writers of the day. Familiar with and realizing every part of the Bible, and drinking in its whole spirit, it is not strange that, with partial misapprehensions and occasional delusions from particular passages, the highest and noblest minds among the Puritans did imbibe not merely the great enthusiasms which it expresses and inculcates, but also the strong practical sagacity and broad right-mindedness of which it is the emphatic teacher. So, notwithstanding an excessive tendency to think and speak of Gideon and David, the Puritan actually managed to govern England better than the House of Stuart fresh from the worldly-wise school of Catherine de Medicis.

These characteristics, more strictly applicable, of course, to the higher minds among the Puritans, apply also, in a much greater degree than is often the case, to the general mass of those who were designated by that name. The men who constituted the 'ranks' of the Roundhead armies differed in no essential point, if we except the inevitable influences of social position and education, from those among the higher classes who present the complete type of the character. Indeed, social and educational advantages did not preserve their usual relative importance in the face of the elevating and refining influence of the religious studies of all classes of Puritans. From the pages of the Bible, read in this earnest and life-like manner, the Puritan obtained a mental discipline of a more invigorating character than is often drawn from systematized instruction, and notions of true courtesy more consistent and firmly rooted than even the unconscious lessons of early association.

Puritanism is generally looked upon as a synonym for rigid morality, and yet upon Puritans has been thrown the stigma of antinomianism. It has been allowed that the general tone of life of the Puritan was scrupulously free from exception, so far as breaches of the moral law are concerned ; and yet it has been alleged that Puritans placed the law of morality in dangerous subordination to the liberty of conscious grace. It is impossible to deny that some of the language employed by Puritans does (when rigidly interpreted) sup-

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this accusation ; and, indeed, there are expressions in St. Paul's Epistles which, if fastened upon without reference to the general bearing of his argument, by the strongly realizing mind of a Puritan, might lead to an injurious depreciation of 'mere morality,' and even to the licentious mysticism of such sects as the 'Children of Love.' But the general current of biblical doctrine would be too strong to be resisted by the great majority of these earnest scripturalists ; and accordingly we find the accusation applies rather to the danger to others from the employment of such language, than to any practical abuse of Christian liberty in the general body of the Puritans. Hypocrisy, the casuistical justification of dishonest means to a good end, and spiritual pride, have been with more confidence attributed to them generally. To a genuine Puritan, conscious hypocrisy would be abhorrent. Self-delusion, and the exaggeration natural to one long-sustained state of mind, there may have been ; but the unreality of hypocrisy must have rendered it unendurable to the true Puritan. Of the second accusation there may have been more danger, owing to the subtlety of mind engendered by constant mental exercise ; and this more especially when political affairs became a prominent subject of discussion. But here, also, the habit of referring not merely the ends but the instruments of their daily pursuits to scriptural standards, must (except in some rare instances of misconceived Bible precedents) have maintained a wholesome check on the licence of speculative reasonings. The charge of spiritual pride is probably to some extent founded in truth. It would have been nearly impossible for those who differed so greatly from the world around them in their appreciation of higher objects, not to be at times painfully, and at other times self-complacently, conscious of this superiority. The weaker among them would naturally be unable to refrain from a supercilious arrogance of demeanour calculated to provoke infinite ill-will. The deeper minds, however, would be too conscious of the sources of their clearer insight to feel any disposition to undue self-importance. There is one point of view in which insubordinate pride has been attributed to Puritans from mere misapprehension. It has been alleged that

they were so uplifted by a sense of their own personal dignity, as to be unable to bear any superior, and to be thus, by the instincts of their character, enemies to the royal and ecclesiastical authorities. But, most assuredly, there is no idea more essentially characteristic of Puritanism than that of one great authority for human action. That there is such a thing as truth and right, and that it has its authoritative expression upon earth, is a conception in itself suggestive of subordination and government, and which broadly distinguishes Puritanism from the chaotic theories of modern democracy. In this idea the Stuarts, had they been wise and upright rulers, would have perceived a valuable ally to their administration. What was implied, however, in this Puritan respect for authority was *good* government—a righteous handling of the sceptre entrusted by God. They had no respect for government except as the earthly symbol of God's supreme authority, and no government could stand in that relation to them which did the work of the Lord negligently. They bent before the throne of God and His divinely constituted tribunals on earth; but they had no reverence for standards of authority which were warped from the divine pattern by the selfish passions and tyranny of princes. They 'feared God and honoured the king' in a higher sense than that in which the Cavalier devoted his life and fortunes to any inheritor of the royal title indiscriminately, however unworthy he might personally be.

There is one feature of the Puritan about which there is no dispute—the virtues of the home circle. Here even his bitterest enemies allow to him not merely the conscientious discharge of his duties, but a relaxation from his sterner and less pleasing moods into the warmest and deepest domestic affections. If a morose fanatic, a bad subject, and a designing hypocrite in the world without, within his own doors he was (they acknowledged) true and warm-hearted as son, husband, and father. Strange as it may appear to some, the most peculiarly English of the virtues was also one of those most distinctive of the Puritan. Drawn immediately from his interpretation of the Divine will, these virtues of private

life became, in their turn, the school of robust statesmanship.*

There is, however, an aspect of Puritanism, in its social relations, which cannot be approached by any modern writer without great self-distrust. The spell of a magician has been cast over this portion of our subject; and he must have extraordinary confidence in his own powers who (whatever the strength of his arguments) can hope to remove completely the entrancing delusion. The Cavalier and Roundhead of Sir Walter Scott's romances will probably always remain too life-like and striking portraitures not to be received by the majority of readers as faithful reproductions of the originals. 'Sir Henry Lee' will outlive a thousand clear historical refutations, and 'Claverhouse' will survive even the pungent strictures of a Macaulay. You cannot destroy the impression left on the mind by the great novelist's delineation of these men; and though you should produce from the archives of history the true Sir Henry Lees of the reign of Charles and the actual 'Dundee' of King James, they will be unable to displace from their pedestals these idols of the popular fancy. The family portraits which hang round the galleries of our country houses are enlisted in aid of the delusion. How many are there among those priestesses of

* Perhaps the following extracts from a letter from a thorough Puritan to his little girl, may illustrate this. At any rate they form a literary curiosity. The writer, Colonel Alban Cox, was at that time governor of Guernsey, having been appointed in place of Colonel Russell, October 22, 1649:—

'My sweet girl,—I received a little note by Tom Darnell, last night, concerning West . . . I must now (my girl) claim this promise, that thou follow thy grammar hard, and also let me entreat that some time be spent on thy catechise. Pray, at my request (which I know thou canst not deny), be very dutiful and observant to thy dear mother, that in my absence thou mayest be a comfort to her sad heart, and at my return I may have cause to bless God and thank thee. Forget not to be frequent in prayer, and when thou art before the throne of grace remember me. Commend me to thy uncle and aunt Smyth. The great God [of] both thee and me send us a safe meeting.—I rest, thy loving father, ALBAN COX.'

On a piece of paper attached are the following remarks: 'Though we may have no communion with the wicked in their religions nor any other evil action against either table of God's law, yet in civil affairs we are taught of God to converse with them in peace; as to eat and drink with them, buy and sell with them, Gen. xxiii. 3, 4, 16. Make covenants of peace, Gen. xiv. 13. Show kindness to them, 2 Sam. x. 2. Pity their estate, love them, Mat. v. 44. Relieve their wants.'—*Additional MSS.* Brit. Mus. 11,315, p. 23.

our family mysteries, the housekeepers of our great houses, who are conscientious enough, or think it consistent with their duties to the family, to own that an ancestor of their master fought against King Charles, instead of 'suffering in the royal cause,' as so many would seem to have done? The fact is, that the Puritans have been unfortunate enough to fall under the ill-favour of successive generations of Englishmen from causes natural enough in each case; but, as it happens, not exactly similar. Why the Cavaliers of the seventeenth century and their followers hated and decried them we learn from the animated description of a Puritan lady, who had herself experienced the consequences of this stigma. 'The payment of civil obedience to the king and the laws of the land,' says Mrs. Hutchinson, 'satisfied not. If any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckoned among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted. If any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppressions of the subject by a thousand ways invented to maintain the riots of the courtiers, and the swarms of needy Scots the king had brought in to devour like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a 'Puritan.' If any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abomination of those days, he was a 'Puritan,' however he conformed to their superstitious worship. If any showed favour to any godly, honest persons, kept them company, relieved them in want, or protected them against violent or unjust oppression, he was a 'Puritan.' If any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land, or stood up for any public interest, for good order or government, he was a 'Puritan.' In short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry; whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, sabbath-breaking, derision of the Word of God, and the like; whoever could endure a sermon, modest habits or conversation, or anything good, all these were 'Puritans;' and if 'Puritans,' then enemies to the king and his government, seditious, factious hypocrites,

ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and, finally, the pest of the kingdom. Such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded, besides, as an illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men, not fit for human conversation. As such they made them not only the sport of the pulpit, which was become but a more solemn sort of stage ; but every stage, and every table, and every puppet-play belched forth profane scoffs upon them : the drunkards made them their songs, and all fiddlers and mimes learned to abuse them, as finding it the most gainful way of fooling.' It is now pretty generally admitted that, whatever its merits in other respects, the Elizabethan age can lay little claim to any close adherence to the rule of Christian morality ; but under the degraded rule of James the court and nobility of England sank deeper and deeper into the slough of debauchery ; and every one who laid the slightest claim, by his actions or words, to the character of a moral or religious man, was classed at once among the Puritan fanatics, until at last Puritanism became almost a synonym for common decency. The French ambassador Tillières was not likely to be over-nice in his notions of morality ; but he writes as follows to his court on the 23rd of August, 1621 : ' They have no thoughts here of a war either in France or in Germany, nor of any occupation whatever, other than that of eating, drinking, and making merry. The house of the Duke of Buckingham is a chief resort for these pursuits ; but I have too much modesty to describe, in the terms of strict truth, things which one would rather suppress than commit in writing to ambassadorial despatches, destined for the perusal of distinguished persons. They are such as even friends touch upon only with reluctance in confidential letters. I have, nevertheless, sought out for the most decent expressions which I can make use of, to convey to you some of the particulars, but I have not succeeded, whether because I am deficient in adroitness, or that it be actually impossible to lay these histories before chaste ears.' It was against these abominations that the Puritans protested as much by their lives as by words ; and on this account they speedily obtained the character of morose

fanatics, who clouded the fair horizon of life by their gloomy asceticism, and who, because they could not enjoy social pleasures themselves, sought to deter all others from a share in them. Modern society, ignorant of the real state of things covered by such general expressions as 'social pleasures,' has accepted the language of the Cavaliers, when speaking of their adversaries, as literally true in its own sense of the words; and coarse fanaticism and a boorish hatred of the courtesies of society have been set down as inseparable features of the Puritans of the time of the 'Great Rebellion.' The long-flowing love-locks, the peaked beard, and plumed hat of the Cavalier, his rich and picturesque dress, and his gay, dauntless bearing, as figured forth in the portraits of that generation, have attracted irresistibly the drawing-rooms of the nineteenth century; and when the pen of the 'author of *Waverley*' threw life and reality into this pictorial fancy, and brought down the Cavaliers from their dark oak frames into the closest social sympathies of the present day, the illusion was rendered complete, and every one would have been proud to welcome to his hearth and his festive board the living men whose existence had been so completely realized.

'He has doff'd the silk doublet the breast-plate to bear,
He has placed the steel cap o'er his long flowing hair;
From his belt to his stirrup his broadsword hangs down—
Heaven shield the brave gallant that fights for the crown!

For the rights of fair England that broadsword he draws;
Her king is his leader, her church is his cause.
His watchword is honour, his pay is renown—
God strike with the gallant that strikes for the crown!

A contemporary Royalist gives a somewhat different idea of the Cavalier army. Dr. Edward Symmons, 'a minister not of the late confused new, but of the ancient, orderly, and true church of England,' in a *Vindication of King Charles*, published in 1647, says: 'Never any good undertaking had so many unworthy attendants, such horrid blasphemers, and wicked wretches as ours hath had. I quake to think, much more to speak, what mine ears have heard from some of their lips; but to discover them is not my present business: a day may come when the world may see that we who adhere to

the king for conscience sake (whatever is said of us to the contrary) have as truly hated the prophaneness and vileness of our own men, as we have done the disloyalty and rebellion of the enemy . . . We have those that seem to hate religion as much as the rebels do loyalty; yea, that make religion a work of rebellion, even as they on the other side do make rebellion a work of religion.' Of course the licentiousness of the majority of the Cavaliers is not to be taken as negating the decency of the minority. But there is evidence that with most of the latter also this decency was but comparative, as contrasted with the outrageous conduct of their associates; and that though the outward face of the court of Charles was much reformed from his father's and compared with that, might be called moral and temperate, yet it fell far below our standard of ordinary decency and morality. Those individuals among the Cavalier party who attained to something like our notions of a 'gentleman' found themselves sadly out of place among the courtiers of King Charles, and do not appear to have found in that king himself the diffusive centre of refinement and purity which the modern mind conceives him to have been.

But not only would the manners and language of the average Cavalier of Charles I. have rendered him unendurable in modern general society, but his tastes also would have made him an unseemly and unsuitable companion for the intercourse of daily life. Habits and tastes which have now descended to the lowest classes, were considered by the thorough Cavalier quite as much essential parts of the character of a gentleman, as loyalty and reverence for church authority. Not only those refinements which we should call more properly mental, but the ordinary outward characteristics of a gentleman of the present day, would have conveyed a clear title to the epithet of 'Puritan' in the days of King Charles. The few Falklands and Southamptons were ever looked upon with dislike and distrust in the royalist camp and court as leavened with the spirit of their opponents; while decorous persons such as Hyde were just tolerated as men of business, and almost openly scoffed at by the gay courtiers of Henrietta-Maria. That weak, worthless, over-

bearing royal beauty imparted to the court of her husband much of the empty heartlessness and unprincipled levity prevalent in the circles of French society ; and nothing but the more frigid formality of the king himself prevented the court under her auspices from forestalling (in an approximate degree) the licentiousness of their son and successor.

Incredible indeed as it may appear to some, it is not too much to say that (if we except a few honourable names among the Royalists—such, for instance, as the Earl of Derby) the Puritan gentleman alone would be appreciated and sympathized with by modern society. Of course it is not meant to affirm that peculiarities of manner and language would not occasionally raise a smile of wondering amusement at his expense ; but the prevalent feeling would be one of sympathizing respect. He might be judged by some over-strict and scrupulous ; but by them also the complete absence of coarse vulgarity in his manners would not be unappreciated. His ‘preciseness’ even would be in many respects less marked and offensive to the world at large than is the case with ‘strict’ people of the present day. It would be ‘strictness’ in comparison with a much laxer state of general society, and would, therefore, in many of its once salient features, harmonize with the received canons of propriety of a more advanced age.

In referring to these and similar characteristics of the Puritan, it has been generally forgotten, that in the reign of Charles I. the great majority of the Puritans were not separatists from the communion of the church of England, but formed a party *within* the national church. Although, therefore, their earnest opinions gave a certain peculiarity to their manners, there was not the broad social difference which (far more than any religious creed) severs the churchman and dissenter of the present day. The Puritan was not, as the modern dissenter, hardly to be found except in the middle and lower classes ; and within these, still more restricted in his social intercourse by the special demarcations of his creed. His peculiarities of religious opinion did not with society at large imply the probable absence of higher social rank, and of the social influences connected with formal membership of

the Established church. Social disabilities of this kind (fertile sources of infidelity to conscience and silly assumption on one side, and querulous, self-sufficient rudeness on the other), which are the crying evil of our present religious divisions, did not attach necessarily to the Puritan then, and indeed scarcely existed at all. A considerable minority among the peers and landed gentry were socially as well as politically 'Puritans.' The wealthier merchants were generally of that cast; and a strong body of the beneficed clergy, who had their representatives in the national universities, were openly identified with that epithet. There was, therefore, little occasion for that *gaucherie* often and very naturally resulting from isolation in one small circle of associations; or for the feeling (sometimes unwarranted) of being, beyond the boundaries of that circle, a social 'pariah.' Nor, again, was there the resulting tendency on the part of the excluded to exaggerate their points of difference from the exclusives, and to assume an attitude of defiant want of sympathy with society on trifling points of ceremonial observance. Puritanism and 'Cavalierism' (if I may coin such a word) were two rival principles, contending for the regulation of social habits as much as for political ascendancy, and in both respects on something like equal terms. Puritanism, therefore, was not in the former respect the enforced attitude of a sullen inferiority, any more than it was in the latter the mere reckless desperation of a defeated faction.

But there is one imputed offence, on the part of the Puritan, against the taste of modern society, which perhaps it may not be possible entirely to remove, his alleged moroseness. In the usual sense of the term we may at once deny the charge, so far as concerns the great majority of the Puritans, and certainly nearly the whole of the Puritan gentry. We must plead guilty, however, if it is merely meant to imply the absence of that buoyant gaiety of demeanour which, with all his coarseness and frivolity, forms the undoubtedly attractive feature in the Cavalier. The habitual expression of the Puritan gentleman was grave and subdued; and this was the inevitable result of a mind constantly occupied with the deepest and most absorbing questions. It would appear

as if the spirit of the religious reformation, from the intimate connexion which it speedily formed with our political history, had penetrated so deeply into the mind of the English nation, as to affect permanently the national character, and tinge it with a reserved gravity, which up to that time was not its marked characteristic. Washington Irving, in one of his delightful essays on English country-life, has treated this subject most happily, and his remarks supply the key to much of the Puritan 'melancholy.'

After describing the lamentations of Squire Bracebridge over the decay of old English merriment, he goes on to say:—

'Such are a few of the authorities quoted by the squire by way of contrasting what he supposes to have been the former vivacity of the nation with its present monotonous character. 'John Bull,' he will say, 'was then a gay cavalier with a sword by his side, and a feather in his cap; but he is now a plodding citizen, in snuff-coloured coat and gaiters.'

'By-the-bye, there really appears to have been some change in the national character since the days of which the squire is so fond of talking; those days when this little island acquired its favourite old title of 'merry England.' This may be attributed in part to the growing hardships of the times, and the necessity of turning the whole attention to the means of subsistence; but England's gayest customs prevailed at times when her common people enjoyed comparatively few of the comforts and conveniences that they do at present. It may be still more attributed to the universal spirit of gain, and the calculating habits that commerce has introduced; *but I am inclined to attribute it chiefly to the gradual increase of the liberty of the subject, and the growing freedom and activity of opinion.*

'A free people are apt to be grave and thoughtful. They have high and important matters to occupy their minds. They feel that it is their right, their interest, and their duty to mingle in public concerns, and to watch over the general welfare. The continual exercise of the mind on political topics gives intenser habits of thinking, and a more serious and earnest demeanour. *A nation becomes less gay, but more*

*intellectually active and vigorous. It evinces less play of the fancy, but more power of the imagination; less taste and elegance, but more grandeur of mind; less animated vivacity, but deeper enthusiasm. It is when men are shut out of the regions of manly thought by a despotic government—when every grave and lofty theme is rendered perilous to discussion and almost to reflection; it is then that they turn to the safer occupations of taste and amusement; trifles rise to importance, and occupy the craving activity of intellect. No being is more void of care and reflection than the slave—none dances more gaily in his intervals of labour; but make him free, give him rights and interests to guard, and he becomes thoughtful and laborious.’**

If this is the effect of simple political emancipation, how much more striking must have been the influence of those deep religious questions which, colouring every object and duty of life, kept the Puritan almost constantly under the subdued light of great and solemn feelings? The state of mind thus produced was doubtless an overstrained one, which could only be sustained by the closer and more immediate presence of great events; but enough of it would seem to have survived the national reaction (or rather the reaction of the highest and lowest classes) to thoughtless licentiousness after the Restoration, to make ‘English gravity’ a common topic of remark among foreign nations. Those, therefore, who deride the ‘moroseness’ of the Puritan, should recollect that they are to some extent ridiculing that ‘reserve’ upon which modern Englishmen are generally accustomed to pride themselves. The Cavalier gaiety would be doubtless (if separated from its less pleasing accompaniments) socially welcome on many occasions; but the general feeling of modern England would equally ‘rebel’ against its frivolous heartlessness when applied to the more important concerns of life. Place an Englishman of acknowledged high principle and good sense, and at the same time a social favourite of the present day, among the questions and feelings of the days of Charles I.,

* *Bracebridge Hall* (ed. 1822), vol. ii. pp. 32–4. See, also, the admirable essay, ‘Merry England,’ in Hazlitt’s *Men and Manners*.

and would he, in any essential point, differ from the Eliots and Hampdens of the Puritan party? Even now, the presence of great and unwonted events exercises an extraordinary influence on the bearing and language of Englishmen of all classes ; and the religious expressions which appeared strange, if not hypocritical, in the mouths of the dead Puritans, have not sounded so unnatural and insincere when proceeding spontaneously from the camp-fires before Sebastopol.

Milton has a passage in his *Reason of Church Government*, which seems still further to elucidate this point : ‘ How happy were it for this frail and, as it may be called, mortal life of man, since all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily use, are withal so cumbersome and full of trouble, if knowledge, yet which is the best and lightsomest possession of the mind, were, as the common saying is, no burden ; and that which is wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the spirit ! For, not to speak of that knowledge that rests in the contemplation of natural causes and dimensions, which must needs be a lower wisdom, as the object is low, certain it is that he who hath obtained in more than the scantiest measure to know anything distinctly of God, and of his true worship, and what is infallibly good and happy in the state of man’s life, what in itself evil and miserable, though vulgarly not so esteemed ; he that hath obtained to know this, the only high valuable wisdom, indeed, remembering also that God, even to a strictness, requires the improvement of these his entrusted gifts, cannot but sustain a sorer burden of mind, and more pressing than any supportable toil or weight which the body can labour under, how and in what manner he shall dispose and employ those sums of knowledge and illumination which God hath sent him into this world to trade with.’—‘ Needs must it sit heavily upon their spirits, that, being in God’s prime intention and their own, selected heralds of peace, and dispensers of treasure inestimable, without price to them that have no peace, they find in the discharge of their commission that they are made the greatest variance and offence, a very sword and fire, both in house and city, over the whole earth. This is that which the sad prophet Jeremiah laments : ‘ Woe

is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, a man of strife and contention !' And although Divine inspiration must certainly have been sweet to those ancient prophets, yet the irksomeness of that truth which they brought was so unpleasant unto them, that everywhere they call it a burden. Yea, that mysterious book of revelation, which the great Evangelist was bid to eat, as it had been some eye-brightening electuary of knowledge and foresight, though it were sweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the devouring. Nor was this hid from the wise poet Sophocles, who in that place of his tragedy, where Tiresias is called to resolve King Oedipus in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more than other men. For surely, to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands ; much better would it like him, doubtless, to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal.*

If we bear in mind some of the above causes which explain the less genial characteristics of the Puritan, perhaps it will not be impossible to understand the feelings which dictated some of those social restrictions which are usually given as examples of his morose austerity. It must be remembered that in the great struggle to which the Puritan committed himself with such abandonment of all secondary considerations, one of the most dangerous (because one of the most insidious) of the instruments of national degradation was that demoralization which consists less in outward acts of gross immorality, than in the empty, thoughtless disregard of everything but the passing pleasures of the day. The May-day games, the Sunday sports ordered by royal authority from the pulpit, the masques and theatrical representations, the court feasts and balls, were at that time so many pleasant

* Works, by Fletcher (1843), pp. 41-2.

opiates to deaden the perceptions of the nation, and enervate their manlier qualities. The contemporary historian May, in his admirable sketch of this period, refers to the effects produced by this royal policy. 'Many men,' he says, 'who had before been loose and careless, began upon that occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed to be incited by the authority of churchmen to that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves as a thing of infirmity. The example of the court, where plays were *usually* presented upon Sundays, did not so much draw the country to imitation, as reflect with disadvantage upon the court itself, and sour those other court pastimes and jollities, which would have relished better without that in the eyes of all the people, as things ever allotted to the delights of great princes. The countenancing of looseness and irreligion was, no doubt, a good preparative to the introduction of another religion; and the power of godliness being beaten down, popery might more easily by degrees enter.'* Independently of the grossness and immorality attending most of these pastimes, and tainting the theatre of that day, the more earnest looked with suspicion upon the motives and possible consequences of the excess of mere sensual enjoyment into which it was attempted to plunge the nation. The early habits and education of most of the Puritan leaders had familiarized them with those accomplishments and amusements which are usually set down as the special property of the Cavaliers; and although there were considerable differences of opinion among Puritans as to their lawfulness, according to the standard of God's will, to which they referred every question, still not a few of them, especially among the gentry, rested their objections on their abuse and undue intrusion, to the exclusion of more important and pressing occupations. They especially deprecated this absorption in festivities in the crisis of a great national convulsion, when the fate of England for centuries at least hung trembling in the balance. This feeling is set forth very dis-

* May's *History of the Long Parliament* · a masterly contemporary work, full of noble thought and just conception of character.

tinctly in the first of the ordinances of parliament suppressing 'stage-plays.' 'On the eve of the actual commencement of hostilities, an order was made by the two Houses, that during the present period of calamity, 'when humiliation and prayer better befitted the state of public affairs than lascivious mirth and levity,' all public stage-plays should cease and be forborne. It was not till the end of the year 1647, when Scotch Presbyterianism exercised a peculiar influence on the English Parliament, that the opinion of those among the Puritans who objected to such exhibitions on scriptural grounds, gained the ascendant, and 'a general interdict was established against them, as having been 'condemned by ancient heathens, and by no means to be tolerated among professors of the Christian religion.' '* This particular ground of objection, however, only applies to a portion of the Puritans, and does not express the feelings of many who were willing to forego what they looked upon as in themselves innocent pleasures, in consideration of the more solemn demands of the age. When the country assumed a more settled character under the Protector, Davenant was allowed by him to perform comedies in a private theatre; and undoubtedly the sentiments of Cromwell on this and similar points were shared by others of an equally decided Puritan stamp. Music and the fine arts were regarded with much the same mixed feelings. Some of the Puritans objected to both on reasons deduced from the Bible, some of which are fanciful and far-fetched enough to raise a smile; while others, undoubtedly, are manifestations of idiosyncrasies in those who employ them, which render it impossible to take them as representations of the feelings of a class. There was, however, as in the case of theatrical representations, another current of feeling among the Puritans; and by many individuals these disputed tastes were cherished, although still in decided subordination to what they considered more important pursuits. It would not be difficult to bring together from the notices, imperfect as they are, which we possess of the private life of the reigns of the earlier Stuarts, ample illustrations of what has just been stated

* Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 76.

respecting the puritan rules of conduct on such points. Some passages, however, in the character of Colonel Hutchinson, drawn by his wife, will probably be sufficient to give an idea of the point of view from which some undoubted Puritans at least regarded these social questions.

‘He was apt,’ she says, ‘for any bodily exercise ; and any that he did, became him : he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it : he had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman : he had a great love of music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly ; and he had an exact ear and judgment in other music : he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise : he had great judgment in paintings, gravings, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds : he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work : he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves, and walks, and fruit-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds ; of country recreations he loved none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he used it, but soon left it off : he was wonderfully neat, cleanly, and genteel in his habit, and had a very good fancy in it ; but he left off very early the wearing of anything that was costly, yet in his plainest negligent habit appeared very much a gentleman : he had more address than force of body, yet the courage of his soul so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it : his conversation was very pleasant, for he was naturally cheerful ; had a ready wit and apprehension : he was eager in everything he did, earnest in dispute, but withal very rational, so that he was seldom overcome : everything that it was necessary for him to do he did with delight, free and unconstrained : he hated ceremonious compliment, but yet had a natural civility and complaisance to all people : he was not talkative, yet free of discourse : of a very spare diet, not given to sleep, and an early riser when in health : he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one else so : *in all his natural and ordinary inclinations and composure,*

there was something extraordinary and tending to virtue beyond what I can describe, or can be gathered from a bare, dead description : there was a life of spirit and power in him that is not to be found in any copy drawn from him. . . . I cannot say whether he were more truly magnanimous, or less proud : he never disdained the meanest person, nor flattered the greatest : he had a loving and sweet courtesy to the poorest, and would often employ many spare hours with the commonest soldiers and poorest labourers ; but still so ordering his familiarity as it never raised them to a contempt, but entertained still at the same time a reverence with love of him : he ever preserved himself in his own rank ; neither being proud of it so as to despise any inferior, nor letting fall that just decorum which his honour obliged him to keep up. He was as far

- from envy of superiors as from contemning them that were under him : he was above the ambition of vain titles, *and so well contented with the even ground of a gentleman*, that no invitation could have prevailed upon him to advance one step that way ; he loved substantial, not airy honour. Never had any man a more contented and thankful heart for the estate that God had given, but it was a very compass for the exercise of his great heart. He loved hospitality as much as he hated riot : he could contentedly be without things beyond his reach, though he took very much pleasure in all those noble delights that exceeded not his faculties. In those things that were of mere pleasure, he loved not to aim at that he could not attain : he would rather wear clothes absolutely plain, than pretend to gallantry ; and would rather choose to have none, than mean jewels or pictures, and such other things as were not of absolute necessity. He would rather give nothing than a base reward or present ; and upon that score he lived very much retired, though his nature was very sociable, and delighted in going into and receiving company ; because his fortune would not allow him to do it in such a noble manner as suited with his mind. His whole life was the rule of temperance in meat, drink, apparel, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoyed ; and herein his temperance was more excellent than in others in whom it is not so much a virtue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust

of pleasure † in him it was a true, wise, and religious government of the desire and delight he took in the things he enjoyed. He had a certain activity of spirit which could never endure idleness either in himself or others, and that made him eager, for the time he indulged it, as well in pleasure as in business ; indeed, though in youth he exercised innocent sports a little while, yet afterwards his business was his pleasure. But, how intent soever he were in anything, how much soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away when God called him to something else. He had as much modesty as could consist with a true, virtuous assurance, and hated an impudent person. He despised nothing of the female sex but their follies and vanities. Scurrilous discourse *even among men** he abhorred ; and though he sometimes took pleasure in wit and mirth, yet that which was mixed with impurity he never would endure.’

Making allowance for the very natural high-colouring of the above character, some idea may be gathered from it of the general tone of life and tastes of the more cultivated puritan gentlemen of the seventeenth century. The point of dress, to which brief allusion is there made, has been a fertile cause of popular derision against the Puritans, and, perhaps, lies at the bottom of a good deal of the ill-favour with which the name has been attended in modern society. Although, therefore, in itself comparatively unimportant, it may be well to say a few words on this subject. The puritan costume, though accommodated to his ideas of manly simplicity, and therefore, in comparison with the cavalier attire, plain and sombre, would be looked upon at present as offending on the side of foppery rather than of Quakerism. In a large proportion of cases (judging from incidental notices and from the portraits which have come down to us), it would be considered, on the whole, extremely handsome and becoming. The military costume, which inevitably became the prevalent dress of the time, would (in many instances) excite warm admiration even in those accustomed to the splendid uniforms of our household troops. General Harrison, the

* This is a curious window into the social canons of that day.

regicide, is usually looked upon as a thorough Puritan, and as such is made the subject of a most unwarranted caricature by Scott, in his novel of *Woodstock*; yet the following is a description of his dress given by the royalist Sir Thomas Herbert, in attendance on King Charles: 'Another troop of horse was in good order drawn up, by which his majesty passed. It was to bring up the rear. In the head of it was the captain, gallantly mounted and armed: a velvet montear was on his head, a new buff-coat upon his back, and a crimson silk scarf about his waist, richly fringed; who, as the king passed him by with an easie pace (as delighted to see men well hors'd and arm'd), the captain gave the king a bow with his head all *a-soldade*, which his majesty requited.* The original dress of our present 'carabineers' (6th dragoon guards), who are said to have formed Cromwell's body-guard, has been allowed by modern military critics to warrant the praise here awarded to General Harrison and his soldiers.

Of course there were many differences on the subject of dress among the Puritans, and we can only speak, as on all social points, of a certain proportion of those who went by the name. It would, doubtless, not be difficult to find illustrations among them of the extreme of coarse homeliness of dress and manners, just as among the Cavaliers we might select examples of outrageous foppery. It is quite enough for our purpose to show that the puritan gentlemen were not necessarily (by virtue of their name and creed) so entirely open to modern ridicule in these respects as has been supposed. The same may be said of the alleged close cropping of the hair, which gave them the name of 'Round-heads' with their opponents. The exuberant locks of the Cavalier (however ornamental in pictures) would be now regarded in actual life as extremely effeminate, and far more ridiculous than the puritan fashion. Reactions, indeed, are always to extremes; and Mrs. Hutchinson tells us that, in contemptuous derision of the length of the cavalier locks, the Parliamentarians at first wore their hair so short, that their army, when it took the field, looked 'as if they had

* *Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of King Charles I.* By Sir Thomas Herbert, Groom of the Chambers to his Majesty (ed. 1815), pp. 139-40.

been only sent out till their hair was grown.' But we must remember that this 'shortness' she speaks of has reference to the usual length of the hair in those days, and would, probably, be very similar to our own present fashion. Even this, however, was not maintained ; for the same author adds that, 'two or three years after the commencement of the war, any stranger who had seen this very army would,' even with the notions of that time, 'have inquired the reason of the name' of Roundhead. Some ministers, indeed, she speaks of, and others, 'who cut their hair close round their heads with so many little peaks, as was something ridiculous to behold ;' and there is a portrait of William Prynne, the learned 'utter-barrister' of Lincoln's Inn, prefixed to some of his works, which gives a good idea of this extreme 'Round-head' fashion. On the other hand, the great majority of the portraits of Puritans of that day (and among them some of the leading ministers) bear ample testimony to the groundlessness, according to modern ideas, of the charge of a *general* and ridiculous close-cropping.

Such, then, were the distinctive characteristics of Puritanism and the Puritans. Puritanism was essentially spiritual in its conception, and only so far material in its religious agencies as seemed conformable with an entire subordination to the original idea. Resting on simple and immediate relations between God and man, it was at once anxiously and entirely obedient to what it believed to be the revealed will of God, and self-reliant and critical so far as respected the mere authority of man. It was, therefore, at once conservative and uncompromising. If it tore down with no gentle hand the overgrowth of tyrannical and superstitious innovation, it did so under the paramount idea of the restitution of the pure temple of God upon earth. If occasionally austere, it was always manly. If sometimes narrow, it was always earnest. If not always clear-sighted in its objects, it never limited its vision to passing events, but looked out boldly into the wider future. If intolerant of some approved English tastes, it was so in the interests of a true English spirit ; if it prohibited them for the time, it rendered them innocuous in all future time. If too grave for ordinary events, it harmonized in its temper with the extraordinary work to which it believed itself

divinely called. If it overthrew a church, it preserved the morality and spirit of Christianity among the nation. If it executed a king, it laid the foundation for a reconciliation between monarchy and liberty. If its errors were theoretically and practically not a few, it at least dealt with questions which would task the genius and the conscience of the ablest and noblest. We have benefited by many of its successful solutions, and have rarely ourselves added to them. It carried the philosophy of the divine and the scholar into the work of practical statesmanship; and the morality of the Bible into the court, the workshop, and the camp. It reconciled the duties of public and private life by placing them both under the dictation of one common authority. It perished in its outward structure from the convulsions which it provoked, but its spirit still lives in the institutions which it rescued from destruction, and in an undemoralized national character.

The descendants of the English Cavaliers may with reason be proud of the gallant self-devotion of their ancestors who perilled their own lives and fortunes, equally with the welfare of their country, in the service of princes wholly unworthy of the sacrifice; but they, on the other hand, have no reason to be ashamed who trace their descent from those puritan gentlemen who, unsupported by the strong impulses of royal favour and personal devotion, and with little permanent countenance from the shifting passions of a multitude, broke through every tie of individual comfort, and family and private considerations; cast aside for the time their own natural tastes and sympathies; exposed themselves to imputations of disloyalty with men because they would not be disloyal to God; and through disappointment and success, victory and treachery, high power and utter prostration, unwaveringly preserved the principles of their 'good old cause,'* leaving to succeeding generations, who have reaped the harvest which they sowed with their sorrows and their blood, to do justice to their motives, if they refuse to consecrate their names.

* As he (Harrison) was going to suffer, one, in derision, called to him, and said, 'Where is your *good old cause*?' He, with a cheerful smile, clapt his hand on his breast, and said, 'Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood'—*Trials of the Regicides: State Trials* (fol. ed.), vol. ii. p. 402.

III.

ANTECEDENTS AND FIRST YEARS OF KING CHARLES.

THE conduct of Charles I. in early life is so closely connected with the events of his reign, that it may be well, before making any remarks on the latter, to bring together a few of the notices of the former which are scattered through contemporary authorities.

The part played by Charles in state affairs during the life of his father was from an early period far from inconsiderable ; though, until the last year or two of James's reign, the public in general were unaware of the influence which he secretly exercised over that sovereign's counsels. At his elder brother's death, in November, 1612, he was still a mere boy, regarded by the popular feeling with little favour. A sickly constitution, a weakness in his limbs, and a natural stutter in his speech, no doubt fostered his disposition to a cold and awkward reserve, which contrasted very unfavourably with the affability and frank impetuosity of the deceased prince. We find, then, that for some time all that was said of his character in public was of the simply negative kind. The rise of the second great favourite of James, George Villiers, which began in the year 1615, was not at first gratifying to Charles ; who would even seem, from an allusion in one of the diplomatic despatches, to have shown some leaning to the Puritans. But the popularity with that party of his sister, the Electress-palatine, appears to have excited strongly the jealousy of the prince, and (as an ambassador* tells us), to

* Von Raumer's *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated from the German, vol. ii. p. 246. This is my general authority for the ambassadorial reports.

the great pleasure of the king, produced an entire change in his feelings. In one of his letters Buckingham thanks James for having 'first planted me in your babie Charles' good opinion.' Clarendon states that it was, 'after a long time of declared jealousy and displeasure on the prince's part, and occasion enough administered on the other,' that this new and fatal friendship was entered upon. Before the death of Queen Anne we find Charles employing the interposition of Villiers in a matter in which he had excited his father's displeasure; and a curious letter has escaped the fire to which it was destined, and survives to show us, that as early as the year 1618, Buckingham was the confidant of the young prince. 'Steenie,' writes Charles, 'I have nothing now to write to you, but to give you thanks both for the good counsel ye gave me and for the event of it. The king gave me a good sharp potion, but you took away the working of it by the well-relished comfits ye sent after it. I have met with the party that must not be named once already; and the colour of writing this letter shall make me meet with her on Saturday, although it is written the day being Thursday. So assuring you that the business goes safely on, I rest your constant, loving friend CHARLES.—I hope ye will not show the king this letter, but put it in safe custody of Mister Vulcan.'* Three years afterwards the French ambassador Tillières, after describing a scene at the Duke of Buckingham's (which has been already referred to) in which Charles was one of the actors, adds that 'the Prince of Wales' actions are so little disposed to virtue, that he is despised and hated as much as his sister is honoured and beloved.' In May, 1622, there is a passage in the same ambassador's despatches, which is curious on more than one account. 'My Lord Digby enjoys, as ambassador, so great a salary, that he does not expend the half of it. He takes himself, however, out of the way, principally on account of his enemies, at the head of which is Buckingham, *who never will forgive him his attacks upon Spain*; and the less so, that he has spoken disadvantageously of the marquis to the Prince of Wales, saying that he was the ruiner of England. *The prince reported the whole to Buck-*

* Halliwell's *Letters of Kings of England*, vol. ii. p. 148.

ingham, who still enjoys the position of favourite; a name comprising everything which can be expressed of evil, and conveying all the bad consequences which have ever flowed from it.' A few days later, speaking of the general suppressed indignation and disgust at the increasing vices of the old king, the ambassador continues: 'Many say, 'if even young persons die, it cannot possibly last long with an old man.' They place their hope upon the Prince of Wales. I, however, maintain, against the opinion of many, and especially of Mons. Domquester,* who holds him for a man of much understanding and of his word, and ascribes his great endurance to wisdom, that, when he comes to the government, his subjects will soon be tired of him; for he will exhibit all the vices of his father, but display none of the qualities which his friends attribute to him; for how were it otherwise possible that a prince of his years should, as yet, have given no proof of anything good or generous?' The historian May confirms this contemporary estimate. Speaking of the favourable expectations of Charles formed by the majority of the nation at his accession, he adds, that 'some men suspended their hopes, as doubting what to find of a prince so much and so long reserved.' In January, 1623, Tillières writes to his court: 'Buckingham is daily more despised by every one, even by the Spaniards whom he has favoured. He has all the more succeeded in insinuating himself, with a view to the future, into the favour of the Prince of Wales. This new favour is very variously spoken of: many who do not see far into things believe that the prince dissembles; few know that passions for women have to do with it. Howsoever the affair may be, the prince is loudly blamed therefore, and the more he advances in age, the more he diminishes his reputation.'—'In the beginning,' he says, in the February following, 'Buckingham showed moderation enough, for he feared lest the queen Anne should effect his downfall as she did that of Somerset. After her death he was still afraid of the Prince of Wales; but since he has become secure of him also, by the means of procuring him gratifications of all kinds, his own disposition displays itself in a reckless manner,

* *Lingua-Franca*—possibly for 'Doncaster.'

and he exhibits debauchery, effrontery, irreligion, and rapacity to the highest degree.'—'I am assured,' he writes, on the 3rd of March of the same year, 'that the king is so disgusted with Buckingham and his presumption, and not less so with his son, by reason of the friendship sprung up between them, that he would rather endanger his state than put up with this any longer. Gondomar, before his departure, gave some assurances to the Prince of Wales respecting his marriage, in the event of his journeying to Spain. Don Balthazar de Zuniga, however, appears not to have sanctioned the plan. Since then the matter has been one while pushed forward, at another let drop, till, a few days since, a pretended merchant delivered letters to the prince in which a rupture of the marriage negotiations was indicated, if Charles did not make a journey to Spain. The latter is now disposed rather to encounter dangers than incur an unsuccessful termination of the affair; and so much the more as his father for some time back has treated him with open and insupportable contempt. In order to avoid enduring this lesser evil, the prince, like a man without judgment, hurls himself head foremost into the greatest of follies; and Buckingham, whom the king only tolerates through fear and habit, wishes, by a dangerous and extravagant conduct, so to attach himself to the prince, that the latter must in every case either support him or share his ruin.' The Venetian envoy, Vallaresso, writing in September, 1622, says: 'Of the prince Charles as yet scarcely anything is to be said, except that he is, like his father, passionately addicted to the chase. Whether his obedience be the result of wise principle or natural disposition, it is hard to say; but the coldness which he displays in all his dealings leads us to no very favourable conclusions in the case of a young man, unless on his accession to the sovereignty he display a different disposition.' Speaking of the rupture of the Spanish match, the French ambassador tells us (May 14, 1624) 'all the presents and letters which were sent from hence for the Infanta are come back; the latter untouched as they were forwarded: an insult which the prince has felt as acutely as his cold and reserved nature permits him.'

Such was the contemporary estimate of Charles down to the termination of the Spanish match. It is evident that the general public were reduced by his great reserve to very indefinite conjectures as to the probable character of their future king. The connexion with Buckingham was variously interpreted : by some, as an indication of sympathy with his vices ; by others, as a mere mark of deference to his father's feelings. The ambassadors, who saw more closely, were aware that Villiers had laid the foundations of his influence with the prince in less creditable transactions, and maintained it by flattering his other foibles. They were divided, however, as to which of the prince's inclinations would take the lead in his future life. They agree as to his coldness and deficiency in generous impulses ; but they do not seem to have been aware at how early a period he took an active share in the government. This latter fact we gather from some letters of the prince himself. Writing to the duke on ' Friday, November the 3rd, 1621,' he says, ' Steenie, the Lower House this day has been a little unruly ; but I hope it will turn to the best, for before they rose they began to be ashamed of it. *Yet I could wish that the king would send down a commission here, that (if need were) such seditious fellows might be made an example to others,* by Monday next ; and till then I would let them alone. It will be seen whether they mean to do good, or to persist in their follies ; so that the king needs to be patient but a little while. I have spoken with so many of the council as the king trusts most, and they are all of his mind, *only the sending of authority to set seditious fellows fast is of my adding.* I defy thee in being more mine than I am thy constant, loving friend CHARLES P.* On the 28th of the same month he again writes to the duke in the following terms : ' Steenie, this day the Lower House has given the king a subsidy, and are likewise resolved to send a message, humbly to entreat him to end this session before Christmas. *I confess that this they have done is not so great a matter, that the king need to be indulgent over them for it ;* yet, on the other side (for his reputation abroad at this time), I would not

* Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 157.

wholly discontent them ; therefore, my opinion is, that the king should grant them a session at this time, *but withal I should have him command them not to speak any more of Spain, whether it be of that war or of my marriage.* This, in my opinion, does neither suffer them to encroach upon the king's authority, nor give them just cause of discontentment. I think ye will find that all those of the council that the king trusts most, are likewise of this mind . . . So, praying you commend my humble service to the king, I rest yours more than can be expressed, and as much as can be thought, CHARLES P.*

King James followed the advice contained in the above, and addressed a letter to the Speaker to the effect there suggested, at the close of which 'he let the House know, that he thought himself very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanours in Parliament ; as well during their sitting as after, which he meant not to spare thereafter upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there, that should be ministered unto him.' A spirited answer from the Commons drew from the king an assertion that their privileges were only matter of grace. The anger excited by this attack on their liberties was so great, that the ministers were obliged to excuse the obnoxious words as 'a slip of the pen at the close of a long answer ;' and, notwithstanding a letter from James to Secretary Calvert, in a somewhat lower tone, the Commons, after a long and warm debate, entered on record in the Journals their famous protestation of December 18th, 1621, in the following words : 'That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and the defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament ; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the

* Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 161. The date, not given there, is easily supplied from the letter itself.

House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to a conclusion the same; that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of those matters in such order as in their judgments shall seem fittest; and that every such member of the said House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by the censure of the House itself,) for or concerning any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament or parliament business; and that if any of the said members be complained of, and questioned for anything said or done in parliament, the same is to be showed to the king, by the advice and consent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the king give credence to any private information.* On this the king dissolved Parliament, and with his own hand erased the protestation from the Journals. He then followed the advice contained in the first letter of Charles, and committed those who led the Commons in their spirited proceedings to separate imprisonment in the Tower and elsewhere.† In this confinement they all, with one exception, remained until the meeting of the next Parliament, in which the instigator of their arrest himself chose to counterfeit those opinions which he had punished others for sincerely entertaining. To understand this change in the policy of Charles, it is necessary to turn again to his friendship with Buckingham. Nothing excited

* Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, 3rd. ed. vol. i. pp. 501-2.

† It is worthy of remark that an opposition to the crown sprang up during this Parliament in the hitherto subservient House of Lords. It was headed by the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Essex, and Southampton. After the dissolution, several of the peers were called before the Privy Council, and one or two of them committed to the Tower. We also find it noticed, that 'a debate arising (among the lords) in what manner to proceed against Sir Giles Mompesson (a Member of Parliament, a projector, and a great dealer and patentee,) and at the same time a creature of Villiers), 'whether by indictment in that House or otherwise, and there being some confusion among the speakers, *the Prince of Wales, who constantly attended this business morning and afternoon*, made a motion, 'That by the ancient orders of the House no lord was to speak twice, though to explain himself, except some other lord mistake his meaning in any part of his speech.' This was commanded to be entered, and ordered to be observed.' The frequent attendance of Charles during the first Parliament in which the lords showed any of their old independent spirit, is remarkable, and, as has been observed, might have taught him a timely lesson.

more surprise at the time than the ascendancy which Villiers, the favourite of James, contrived to obtain over the mind of Charles. The duke has often been spoken of as a weak man, of no talent ; but though it were easy to reconcile with such a character any amount of favour with the old king, he must have possessed other qualities to secure the attachment of the prince. George Villiers was the first and the last whom Charles admitted into his entire confidence ; and this marked preference (so significant in its bearing on the question of that prince's real character) must have had its origin in some powerful motives. Fear could not have been the actuating cause, for the whole tenor of Charles' conduct towards the favourite shows that the intimacy which the latter enjoyed sprang from a genuine feeling of affection. The bond between them, created by a companionship in early debaucheries, is not at all adequate as an explanation. Whatever his occasional excesses, Charles seems to have been in general nearly as indifferent to such indulgences as he was to the infamy with which they had covered the character of Villiers. He had neither the violent passions which suggest some excuse for these excesses, nor the lively moral sensibility which is deeply wounded by their association with the name of so intimate a friend. He had neither the taste *for* them, nor (as was apparent enough) any keen feeling of disgust at their occurrence in so gross a form. We must seek elsewhere for a solution of his conduct towards the duke. There was in the Stuarts no more strongly-marked characteristic than excessive self-appreciation, and a jealousy of anything which might seem to imply in others the absence of an equal appreciation of their superior understanding, and a want of due deference to their elevated rank. They only tolerated a man of superior talent under the condition that he never himself placed, or allowed others to place, his genius in favourable comparison with them. They were, as has been already seen in the case of James, more covetous of the outward appearance of authority than of actual though concealed power. Buckingham knew well how greatly Charles was affected by this feeling ; and when he found it necessary to gain the young prince, appears to have regulated his con-

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duct carefully by a consideration to it. This man, so overbearing with others, and in his behaviour to the old king at length so rude and so tyrannical, was towards Charles familiar in his manner, but outwardly deferential to his judgment; and gained power by the contrast. Showing him that he possessed the courage to be insolent, he made in favour of Charles a marked difference, which was in itself a tacit compliment to the superior character of the heir to the crown. To grasp apparently at the whole power of the state, and then to affect a deference to the wishes of the future king; to stealthily insinuate into the mind of his unconscious pupil the ideas to which, when once adopted and brought forward by Charles, he would be prepared to give an implicit assent; to affect a recklessness and extravagance in his public conduct, so as to suggest the idea of a deficiency in judgment, and thus lead the prince to infer the perpetual need of *his* controlling caution; to exhibit a willingness to encounter the wrath of the king, or the impeachments of the Commons, in obeying the wishes which he had himself created; never to affect popularity at the expense, but always for the apparent advantage of the prince; and to seem to owe honours and even life to the protection of Charles, while maintaining, in the face of an angry nation, the so-called interests of his master;—in short, to appear to have no independent footing of his own, and no safety but in the continuance of the prince's favour; and to become essential to Charles by making it seem that Charles was essential to him;—to do all this successfully, as George Villiers did, proves the existence in him of no mean talents. That they did not raise him to a higher position in the history of his country, is to be attributed partly to the extent to which they were weakened, and their effects counteracted, by fearful attendant vices, and partly to the necessities of his position, which, from the very nature of the tenure by which his favour with Charles was held, forbade the exhibition of any great or striking genius. It was the inevitable result of the Stuart character that nothing but inferior talent could both serve them zealously and preserve their good-will.

The Spanish-marriage expedition of the prince and

Buckingham, though perhaps originally hinted at by Gondomar, was the work of Villiers, who seems to have counted upon it as a sure means of confirming the exclusive intimacy between the heir-apparent and himself, and possibly regarded it as a convenient escape from the increasingly difficult part he had to play at court between his old and new masters. Clarendon has detailed at considerable length the purport of the previous interviews between the old king and his 'sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romance ;'* deriving his information, probably, from Lord Cottington, whose opposition to the idea brought down on him the wrath of Buckingham. After the most violent agitation and alarm and the strongest demonstrations of dislike to the project, James yielded to the importunity of his son and favourite ; but, Clarendon assures us, 'never forgave the Duke of Buckingham, but retained as sharp a memory of it as his nature could contain.' With his usual dissimulation and cowardice, however, the king still affected the same feelings towards Villiers, and, while lending a more willing ear to the suggestions of the favourite's enemies in England, continued to follow his advice and that of his son in the whole matter of the marriage, and of the negotiations with the Pope which formed so important a part of it. The letters which passed between the king and prince, on this occasion, present so many illustrations of the character of Charles, that some extracts from them are essential to any estimate of his early disposition.

In their first letter from Madrid the prince and Buckingham report as follows : 'We must hold you thus much longer to tell you, the Pope's nuncio works as maliciously and as actively as he can against us, but receives such rude answers that we hope he will be soon weary on't : we make this collection of it, that the Pope will be very loath to grant a dispensation, which, if he will not do, then we would gladly have your directions *how far we may engage you in the acknowledgment of the Pope's special power ;* for we almost find, *if you will be contented to acknowledge the Pope chief head under Christ,*

* Halliwell's *Letters of Kings of England*, vol. ii. p. 166.

that the match will be made without him.’* James appears to have been rather staggered at this suggestion ; and writes in answer : ‘ I know not what you mean by my acknowledging the Pope’s spiritual supremacy. I am sure you would not have me renounce my religion for all the world ; but all that I can guess at your meaning is, that it may [be] ye have an allusion to a passage in my book against Bellarmine, where I offer, *if the Pope would quit his godhead and usurping over kings*, to acknowledge him for the chief bishop, to which all appeals of churchmen ought to lie *en dernier resort*, the very words I send you here inclosed ; and that is the furthest my conscience will permit me to go upon this point, for I am not a Monsieur that can shift his religion as easily as he can shift his shirt when he cometh from tennis.’† The special reservation on the part of James to the Pope’s authority is eminently characteristic, as is also (taken in connexion with it) his self-gratulation on a conscientious adherence to his religion. In a letter written a little earlier, James, in sending to his son two chaplains, adds : ‘ I have fully instructed them, so as all their behaviour and service shall, I hope, prove decent and agreeable to the purity of the primitive church, and yet as near the Roman form as can lawfully be done, for it hath ever been my way to go with the Church of Rome *usque ad aras*.’‡ By a similar spirit all the letters between father and son are regulated. Thus the latter writes : ‘ For our main and chief business we find them, by outward shews, as desirous of it as ourselves, yet are they hankering upon a conversion ; for they say there can be no friendship without union in religion, but put no question in bestowing their sister, and we put the other quite out of question, because neither our conscience nor time (!) serves for it, and because we will not implicitly rely upon them.’ A postscript in Charles’ own handwriting commences thus significantly : ‘ I beseech your majesty advise as little with your council in these businesses as you can.’§ This advice was, perhaps, prudent, as the prince, emulating the example of his father, who about the same time

* Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 176.

† Ib. ii. 180.

‡ Ib. ii. 187-8.

§ Ib. ii. 184-5.

addressed two conciliatory letters to two successive popes, scrupled not to enter into personal correspondence with the Holy See, in hopes of inducing its occupier to grant the dispensation for the marriage. In his letter Charles protests: 'The judgment which your holiness hath formed of my desire of contracting affinity and marriage with the house of a Catholic prince, is a test both of your charity and wisdom; for never should I feel so earnest as I do to be joined to any one living in that close and indissoluble bond, whose religion I hated. Wherefore be your holiness persuaded that I am and ever shall be of such moderation as to keep aloof, as far as possible, from every undertaking which may testify any hatred towards the Roman-catholic religion; nay, rather I will seize all opportunities, by a gentle and generous mode of conduct, to remove all sinister suspicions entirely; so that, as we all confess one undivided Trinity and one Christ crucified, we may be banded together unanimously into one faith. *That I may accomplish this, I will reckon as trifling all my labours and vigilance, and even the hazards of kingdoms and life itself.*'* In curious contrast with this, Charles, in a letter dated only three days later, informing the king of the conditions with which the dispensation was clogged, after saying very properly that their answer to the proposition that 'no other oath be ministered to the Roman-catholic subjects than that which is given to the Infanta's servants, and that they may all have free access to her church,' will be that 'the oath was made by act of Parliament, and that you cannot abrogate it without the whole consent of your people,' adds that this was 'no less than in covered words to ask liberty of conscience, which you have neither mind nor power to grant.'† A demand was made by the prince, six days afterwards, for a full power from the king, couched in the following words: 'We do hereby promise, by the word of a king, that whatsoever you, our son, shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform.'‡ This power James at once sent, observing 'it were a strange trust that I would refuse to put upon my only son, and upon

* Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 197.

† Ib. ii. 202.

‡ Ib. ii. 198-9.

my best servant.* Charles and Buckingham had the affair, therefore, completely in their own hands, and repeated were their injunctions to the king to complete secrecy. They next proceeded to solve a case of conscience for James. 'We send you here the articles as they are to go, the oaths private and public, that you and your baby are to take, with the council's, wherein, if you scare at the least clause of your private oath (where you promise that the Parliament shall revoke all the penal laws against Papists within three years), we thought good to tell your majesty our opinions, which is, that if you think you may do it in that time (which we think you may), if you do your best, although it take not effect, you have not broken your word, for this promise is only as a security that you will do your best.† James still hesitated about signing the articles to which his son had pledged him, and which now included secret conditions that the children of the marriage should be under the care of their mother until they were ten years of age, and should not be excluded from the throne if they became Roman-catholics, and that James should give security for the fulfilment of these conditions. At length the king disclosed the matter to his council, who agreed that 'his highness' words and articles must be made good; that the oath by the council must be taken; that the prince must marry and bring his lady away with him that year'; or else the prince should at once 'return without marriage or contract, leaving both those to be accomplished by the usual forms.' The oaths were accordingly taken; but when James referred to the Lord-Keeper Williams a proposition of the Spanish ambassadors, that a proclamation should be at once issued forbidding all persecution of the Catholics, that dignitary refused to authorize such a step.

By this time, however, clouds were arising which obscured the prospect of the marriage altogether. James had acquiesced in his son's casuistry with respect to the oath; but the Spanish court, accustomed to deal in and with dissimulation, by this time began to suspect that the king and prince were

* Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 205.

† Ib. ii. 206-7.

only employing empty forms of words, and that when the Infanta was once in England, no further steps would be taken in the matter of catholic toleration. At first they seem to have believed in the sincerity of their guests, and to have been unable to conceive any reason why the match should be so eagerly pursued, and such a dangerous step have been taken by the prince, unless he and his father were really Roman-catholics at heart, and anxious to give open expression to their sentiments. The king and prince, while declining to entertain the idea of immediate conversion, did not scruple to foster, in all other respects, the notion that they were most favourably disposed towards Rome. The court of Madrid, however, and the Vatican, were not satisfied with these mere verbal professions ; and when they found the English court unable or unwilling to risk any decided open step towards the fulfilment of their pledge, they became still more precise and exacting in their stipulations, and dilatory on their side in hastening the preliminaries. But the match might, nevertheless, have been accomplished, had it not been for a complete change in the feelings of Buckingham himself. He was disgusted at the Spanish stiff ceremonial, which assigned to him his proper position relatively to the prince ; and (in his overweening vanity) was jealous of the ascendancy of Count Olivarez, even though it were merely with a foreign prince. On the other hand, he seems to have so thoroughly disgusted the Spanish king and favourite by his 'familiarity and want of respect towards the prince,' that Olivarez declared that 'if the Infanta did not, as soon as she was married, suppress that licence, she would herself quickly undergo the mischief of it ;'* while the king augured only misery to his sister, should she marry a prince whose intimate friend was so profligate and unprincipled. Buckingham, according to Clarendon, perceiving this hatred to him, began to 'apprehend his own ruin in that union, and accordingly to use all his endeavours to break and prevent it ; and from that time he took all occasions to quarrel with and reproach the Conde Duke.' Charles lent himself blindly to the fresh caprice of his favourite, and began to devise expedients to return to England. Fearful of being

* Clarendon.

detained in Sp̄ain, should he openly break off the match, the prince had recourse to a system of dissimulation; and affecting to consider the affair as virtually concluded, put forward the bad state of health of his father, and the necessity of preparing the English nation for the catholic toleration, as excuses for quitting Spain before the arrival of the dispensation from Rome. He agreed, however, to leave a power of proxy with the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador at the Spanish court, who was to deliver it to Philip ten days after the arrival of the dispensation, and to name the king or his brother as proxy in the espousals, which Philip engaged should take place before Christmas, at the latest. This agreement Charles and Philip took an oath, in the presence of the Patriarch of the Indies, to observe faithfully. Rich and valuable presents were bestowed on the prince by King Philip, Olivarez, and the Spanish grandees; and Charles gave in return some presents (of which the Spaniards spoke with contempt), among which was a diamond anchor for the Infanta, as an emblem of his constancy. Charles parted from that princess as her future husband, and she entrusted him with a letter in her own handwriting to deliver to a celebrated nun of Carrion. At parting from the king, Clarendon tells us,* ‘there were all possible demonstrations of mutual affection between them; and the king caused a great pillar to be erected in the place where they last embraced each other, with inscriptions of great honour to the prince, there being then not the least suspicion or imagination that the marriage would not succeed. Insomuch that afterwards, upon the news from Rome that the dispensation was granted, the prince having left the *desponsorios* in the hands of the Earl of Bristol, the Infanta was treated as Princess of Wales; the queen gave her place, and the English ambassador had frequent audiences, as with his mistress, in which he would not be covered. Yet the very day after the prince’s departure from the king, Mr. Clark, one of the prince’s bedchamber, who had formerly served the duke, was sent back to Madrid upon pretence that somewhat was forgotten there; but in truth with orders to the Earl of Bristol. Mr. Clark was not to deliver his letter to the

* *Rebellion* (ed. 1843), p. 15.

ambassador till he was sure the dispensation was come; but he lodging in the ambassador's house, and falling sick of a calenture, which the physicians thought would prove mortal, he sent for the earl to come to his bedside, and delivered him the letter before the arrival of the dispensation, though long after it was known to be granted.' This letter was in the following terms: 'Bristol—You know that I told you I feared, when I came away, the Infanta might go to a monastery, after I was contracted by virtue of a dispensation granted from Rome, and so the marriage might be broken off, and the king my father and all the world might condemn me, and account me a rash-headed fool not to have prevented it. And, therefore, do not dispose of my proxy until you hear more from me, for such a monastery may pill me of my wife. So not doubting that you will observe particularly this, I leave you.—CHARLES.*' Whether the Infanta's letter to the nun suggested this device or not, Bristol felt the awkwardness of his position too strongly not to take immediate steps to investigate the truth of Charles's alleged apprehension. We have seen, from a passage already quoted, that when Buckingham was hottest in favour of Spain, Bristol (then Lord Digby) incurred his resentment for speaking on the other side. The ambassador, however, now felt his honour and that of his sovereign committed to the match, and seems to have been persuaded of the sincerity, as to the main point, of the Spanish court. He therefore sought an interview with Philip, who gave him solemn assurances that the Infanta should be sent to England at the time agreed upon; the Infanta herself being very merry at the idea of her becoming a nun, saying she never in all her life had any mind to be so, and hardly thought she should be one now, only to avoid the Prince of Wales. Bristol at once wrote off a despatch to James conveying this assurance; but received for answer that he might deliver his proxy at Christmas, because 'that holy and joyful time,' as it was hypocritically added, 'was best fitting so notable and blessed an action as the marriage.' Bristol replied that, as the powers in the proxy expired *before*

* Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 229.

Christmas, it would be a most grievous insult to present it then ; and that the Pope having signed the dispensation, he should feel bound by the treaty to deliver the proxy when demanded, unless he received express orders to the contrary. Philip, meanwhile, had fixed the day for the delivery of the proxy, and every preparation was made to celebrate the act with the greatest pomp. But three days only before the appointed day, three English couriers arrived one after the other, charged with duplicates of a new commission to Bristol, countermanding the delivery of the proxy until full and absolute satisfaction should be given for the immediate surrender of the palatinate, or war should be declared by the King of Spain for the obtaining of that surrender to the King of England's son-in-law. Philip was at first extremely indignant, and ordered the Infanta to drop the title of Princess of Wales; but afterwards entered into explanations with Bristol, which ended in a day or two in the Spanish king putting his signature to a formal promise, written in the form of a letter to King James ; but the only answer was the recall of Bristol, and preparations on both sides for a war.

The first exclamation of Charles, on embarking for England, was that he had duped the Spaniards, and he and his counsellor Buckingham now proceeded to play the same game with the English nation—a far more dangerous undertaking. Their object was to persuade the people that they had been grossly ill-treated by the Spanish court. Villiers was resolved that that court should be taught to estimate rightly his importance, and another time to tolerate insolence and excesses in him which they would in no other nobleman; and it was determined to employ the House of Commons as a tool to effect this purpose. The imprisoned members of the two Houses were released, and writs went out for a new Parliament. In this Charles and Buckingham no longer denied the right of the Commons to treat of such matters as his marriage and the Spanish alliance, but compelled the king to solicit their advice, and promise the fullest disclosures of the nature of the negotiations. It was an ill omen for the truthfulness of the forthcoming statement, that in this very speech the king was made to say, ' I never made public or private treaties but I

had a direct reservation for the public weal and the cause of religion—for the glory of God, and the good of my subjects. I only thought good sometimes to wink and connive at the execution of some penal laws, and not to go on so rigorously as at other times ; *but not to dispense with any, or to forbid or alter any that concern religion. I never promised or yielded ; I never did think it with my heart, or spoke it with my mouth.*'

The Earl of Bristol had been left in Spain without money for his homeward journey ; and when this was supplied by the bounty of Philip, who, however, vainly implored him to stay there, and not to expose himself to inevitable ruin at the hands of Charles and Buckingham, the earl received orders to travel by slow stages, and, on his arrival in England, was directed to go instantly to his house in the country, and there consider himself a prisoner. Having thus, as they thought, effectually gagged the principal witness against them, the prince and duke had a narrative prepared, which, evading all the real facts of the case, set forth prominently the evasions and bad faith of the court of Spain, and by a tissue of undoubted falsehoods represented the protestant cause and the interests of religion as involved in this personal quarrel. It needed little to make the Commons believe any evil of a power so hated as the Spanish ; and when they saw the heir-apparent, himself a principal party in these transactions, standing by the side of Buckingham at a conference with the two Houses, and bearing his testimony to the truth of the facts stated in the narrative, who can wonder that the nation was for the time deceived ; that the old feelings of the days of Elizabeth came rushing back to the hearts of Englishmen ; and that the result was an outburst of popular resentment against the treatment received by Charles, which rendered useless all the pacific tendencies of James, and drove him, against his will, to break off that connexion, which it had been the labour of his life to cement ? Buckingham was called by Sir Edward Coke, in the House of Commons, the ' Saviour of the nation ; ' and addresses were presented to the crown from both Houses expressive of the warmest admiration of the tone displayed in the duke's narrative. In some of these conferences, it appears from the reports extant, that

Charles and Villiers both behaved with great rudeness to the king, interrupting him in his public statements, and contradicting him, with slight regard to truth, in his facts. Not satisfied with playing the game of popularity in the matter of the Spanish war, the confederates endeavoured to conciliate the House of Commons by all sorts of concessions wrung from the king, and by professions of eagerness to redress all grievances, and refer to the advice of the Commons on all occasions. In return for this, they contrived to employ the power of the Commons against those who had caballed during their absence to overthrow the power of Villiers. Of these the chiefs were the Lord-Keeper Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer. Williams humbled himself in the dust, and speedily performed an important service to Buckingham, in discovering and countermining the efforts of the Spanish ambassadors to induce James to express openly his well-known aversion to the war, and his hatred to Buckingham. Cranfield, however, was less fortunate or less adroit; and accordingly, at the instigation of the prince and Buckingham, he was impeached by the Commons, and condemned for some of the numerous illegal acts to which he had been encouraged by the sanction and example of the favourite. This impeachment, so important to the Commons as a precedent of their powers, shows the extent to which Charles and Villiers were willing to sacrifice even their long-cherished plans of royal aggrandizement to the momentary gratification of private resentments. The irritation of the king at this conduct was, as may be imagined, great; and justly so, since, as we have seen, those who now turned the popular power against his ministers, had been the advisers of the most unpopular measures during the preceding Parliament. In the bitterness of his heart, James is said to have exclaimed to the duke, 'By God, Steenie, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that, in this fit of popularity, you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself;' and then, turning in some anger to the prince, told him that 'he would live to have his bellyful of Parliaments; and that when he (James) should be dead, he would have too

much cause to remember how much he had contributed to the weakening of the crown by this precedent he was now so fond of.' In secret to the Spanish ambassador James declared, that when the prince 'went to Spain, he was as well affected to that nation as heart could desire, and as well disposed as any son in Europe; but now he was strangely carried away with rash and youthful counsels, and followed the humour of Buckingham, who had he knew not how many devils within him since that journey.' Fear, however, prevented the king from taking any effective measures against his tyrant; and his anger was confined to midnight cabals with the Spanish ambassador and his old favourite the Earl of Somerset, and transient fits of ill-humour with the duke himself. But Villiers, fortified by his influence with Charles, bade defiance to the indignation of his old master, and dragged him along in a course of policy wholly at variance with his strongest feelings and prejudices. 'The heat,' writes the French ambassador in March, 1624, 'which the prince and Buckingham introduce into public business, and the too rapid motion which they wish to impart to the Parliament, has injured them much, has frightened many members of the Parliament, and excited in the king the suspicion that they wish to take him also under guardianship. As he, however, is both cunning and timid, he will not attack them both at once, but endeavour to separate them, and then forthwith destroy the favourite. It is uncertain whether the party of the king or that of the prince will prevail. It is a grave matter to dissolve, without adequate reason, a Parliament supported by his son, who is in the vigour of life, and *infinitely beloved by all.*' Again in May, 1624, he writes, '*The prince gains daily reputation, glory, and goodwill from the Parliament, and also from the people.*' I know not whether this proceeds from sound reasons, or because he gives way much to their interests and their passions. On the other hand, the king is daily more detested and despised; he is without power or consideration, which occasions many of his servants to forsake him.'—'The Parliament, which is aware of these disorders, and how the prince endeavours to oppose his father, and to bring about a war with Spain, supports his schemes,

and demands at the same time much from him which he would disapprove, if he were king, as, for example, the persecution of the unoffending Catholics. If, however, they could satisfy their passions, they would trouble themselves little about the rest.' At the close of May, another ambassador writes to the King of France, that 'the prince honours Buckingham not as a favourite, but as a man upon whom his entire fortune depends.'

The cloud which threatened all this new-born popularity was the possible revelation of the real facts of the Spanish negotiations. The Earl of Bristol refused to purchase a reconciliation with the prince and Buckingham at the price of endorsing their falsehoods, and demanded to be publicly heard in his own defence. Charles thereupon indited to Buckingham a letter which has, fortunately for the credit of Bristol, been preserved, and betrays throughout the consciousness of guilt on the part of the prince. 'Steenie,' he writes, 'I first must thank you for the token you sent me; then that you employed so good a secretaire' (probably the Duchess of Buckingham) 'to answer my letter. Now I must crave your pardon to trouble you a little, and it is this: Bristo stands upon his justification, and will by no means accept of my counsels; the king does hate to have him come to his trial, and I am affeard that, if you be not with us to help to charge him, and to set the king right, he may escape with too slight a censure. Therefore I would have you send to the king to put off Bristoe's trial until you might wait on him; but, for God's sake, do not venture to come sooner than ye may with the safety of your health; and with that condition, the sooner the better. If ye will answer me, trouble not yourself, but do it by the secretaire ye used last. Take care of yourself for my sake, who is and ever shall be your true, loving, constant friend CHARLES P.*' Following these counsels, Buckingham and the prince contrived to stave off Bristol's disclosures until the old king's death, although enough leaked out before that time to raise suspicions of the truth of Buckingham's statement. While, however, the prince continued

* Halliwell, vol. ii. pp. 230-1.

to affect popular feelings, these rumours possessed little weight. It is only necessary to refer to one additional matter, in elucidation of the conduct of Charles as Prince of Wales. It might have been supposed that both he and the king had experienced too much trouble and danger in their recent Spanish negotiation on the Roman-catholic question, willingly to renew any fresh discussions on this point. But James, bent on intermarrying his son with one of the great European sovereignties, and disappointed in Spain, now turned his attention to France, and sought the hand of the French king's sister, the too celebrated Henrietta Maria. Richelieu stood out for similar conditions with those granted to Spain, and ultimately obtained the signature of James and Charles to even more favourable terms. It is a crowning proof of the perfidy of Charles during this portion of his life, that while he was thus entering into secret engagements with a foreign power, and in favour of the Catholics, wholly at variance with his position as a constitutional prince, he was affecting before the English people entirely opposite sentiments, and endeavouring to crush an innocent man by falsely accusing him of tendencies, to an imputation of which the prince himself was at that very moment laying himself justly open.

In the spring of the year 1625 the wretched old king expired, under an accumulation of disorders, the result of a life of continued debauchery. Suspicions of poison administered by Buckingham were freely vented in the country, and gained a large amount of credit from the ill-judged proceedings of Charles, who refused to allow any proper investigation into the circumstances of his father's death. Possibly this originated in his fear that Buckingham would not (his short career of popularity being already at an end) experience fair play in such an inquisition. But more probably it sprang from the pride of a king who could not endure that any one whom he honoured with his confidence should be placed in the position of a suspected criminal. As to the fact itself, although there is nothing in the character of Villiers to make us hesitate in assigning to him such a crime, the age and worn-out frame of James would seem to need no such auxiliary as poison to lead to a fatal result.

We have now traced the career of the pupil and friend of

Buckingham down to the period when he was called on to ascend the English throne; and some idea will have been formed from the facts which have been detailed of his real character, and of the prospects of the English nation under his rule. The subsequent events of his reign show with what miserable results to his country and himself this character developed itself during four-and-twenty years of misgovernment and civil anarchy.

The position of the House of Commons at the death of James I. is well described by Mr. Hallam in a summary of the parliamentary results of that reign. 'The Commons,' he observes, 'had now been engaged, for more than twenty years, in a struggle to restore and to fortify their own and their fellow-subjects' liberties. They had obtained in this period but one legislative measure of importance, the late declaratory act against monopolies. But they had rescued from disuse their ancient right of impeachment. They had placed on record a protestation of their claim to debate all matters of public concern. They had remonstrated against the usurped prerogatives of binding the subject by proclamation, and of levying customs at the out-ports. They had secured beyond controversy their exclusive privilege of determining contested elections of their members. They had maintained, and carried indeed to an unwarrantable extent, their power of judging and inflicting punishment, even for offences not committed against their House. Of these advantages some were evidently incomplete; and it would require the most vigorous exertions of future Parliaments to realize them. But such exertions the increased energy of the nation gave abundant cause to anticipate. A deep and lasting love of freedom had taken hold of every class except perhaps the clergy; from which, when viewed together with the rash pride of the court and the uncertainty of constitutional principles and precedents collected through our long and various history, a calm bystander might presage that the ensuing reign would not pass without disturbance, nor perhaps end without confusion.'*

What has been said of the conduct of Charles as Prince of

* *Constitutional History*, vol. i. pp. 509-10.

Wales will sufficiently prove that he ascended the throne with a full knowledge of the increased power and of the deeply-rooted feelings of the Commons. Never was there a plea more completely unfounded in fact, than that which has been often advanced in behalf of this prince, that he only innocently employed the prerogatives which had been exercised without dispute by his predecessors. It has been seen that some years before, he was a leading adviser of the crown in its attempts to crush the freedom of debate in Parliament, and afterwards, to serve his own purposes, courted the popular power and turned it with irresistible force against the policy of the reigning sovereign. No attempt was ever made on the part of the Commons, during these vacillations of the prince, either to avert his anger or conciliate his goodwill by concessions. *Their* views and feelings were always displayed openly and adhered to unswervingly. It was Charles who accommodated himself to their wishes, and by seeming to approve of their well-known opinions, both in church and state, secured their support to his side in his contest with his father. If, on his exchanging the position of Prince of Wales for that of king, he chose to ignore the whole of his previous conciliatory demeanour, and to assume the character of a prince *de jure*, who was entitled to demand liberal contributions from his subjects, without deigning for a moment to consider their alleged grievances, is blame to be cast on the House of Commons for refusing to acquiesce in this quiet repudiation of previous moral engagements, and for ascertaining definitely, at the very commencement of his reign, the footing on which they were to stand with their new sovereign? Charles was no inexperienced youth, fresh to the cares of state, towards whom the exercise of a generous forbearance might be wise, though in no case imperative. He was one with whom the Commons had been brought recently into intimate connexion, on certain definite grounds of common action, and by persevering in the policy thus sanctioned by his support, they only gave him credit in public for that sincerity of character which his advocates have somewhat hastily accused them of publicly denying to him at the outset of his reign. It is quite true that the favourable auguries of

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the future conduct of Charles were already superseded by incipient rumours through private channels of treachery in the Spanish affair, which Bristol's enforced silence was unable entirely to prevent. But these evil reports, if any credence were to be given to them, only rendered it the more expedient for the Commons to maintain definitely from the first the position they had occupied during the preceding reign, so as to enable the new king to justify himself by also pursuing a similar course. Although friendly relations with Spain had been broken off, war had not yet been declared; and it was still in the option of Charles to withdraw from that step, or by taking it, virtually to adopt, as the policy of his reign, what he had inaugurated as Prince of Wales. He did so, and thereby justified the Commons in calling upon him for a fulfilment of the moral pledges by which their support to this foreign policy had been secured. It is curious to see that the doubt thrown upon the truth of Buckingham's version of the Spanish negotiations, had the effect not merely of shaking the reputation of the favourite, but also by a natural reaction in honourable minds, of suspending for the time much of the hostility to Spain and eagerness for the war which had animated the Commons in preceding years. Spain obtained for a short period credit for more sincerity than probably she merited; and as the facts came out more distinctly, this feeling increased, so that Charles had a fair opportunity of avoiding a declaration of war, and had not even the excuse of being driven into it by the passions of his people. He, however, deliberately pushed the personal quarrel of Villiers to the issue of a national conflict, and thus necessarily placed himself in the position of a prince particularly dependent on the goodwill and generosity of his subjects. In his speech from the throne the new king recalled to the recollection of his hearers the obligations under which he assumed that they had laid themselves to him, by adopting the war-policy in the previous reign; and thus rendered continuous, as it were, the parliamentary life of this Parliament and its predecessor. 'My lords and gentlemen,' he said, 'I hope that you do remember that you were pleased to employ me to advise my father to break off those two

treaties that were now on foot ; so that I cannot say that I came hither a free, unengaged man. It is true I came into this business willingly and freely, like a young man, and consequently rashly, but it was by your interest, your engagements ; so that though it were done like a young man, *yet I cannot repent me of it*, and I think none can blame me for it, knowing the love and fidelity you have ever borne to your kings ; *having myself, likewise, some little experience of your affections*. I pray you remember, that this being my first action, and begun by your advice and entreaty, what a great dishonour it were both to you and me, if this action, so begun, should fail of that assistance you are able to give me.' There is something extremely mean in the attempt here made to represent Charles as the mere tool in the hands of the previous Parliament, employed by them to further their own views ; and it is difficult to conceive the effrontery with which this representation was put forward in the presence of so many who were well acquainted with the inflammatory appeals made by the prince and Buckingham to induce them to embark in this undertaking. But while thus endeavouring to shift the responsibility of the war to other shoulders, we see that Charles does not hesitate to adopt and recommend it, employing it as a pretext to call for large supplies from his people. He also, according to every principle of common sense, by recalling the previous friendly relations between himself and Parliament, revives his moral engagements at that time to the policy of a redress of grievances. Towards the close of his speech he drops a hint that (on account of the plague) their session would be a short one, as an incentive to haste ; and ends by a declaration which seems intended to meet by tacit reference the growing rumours of concessions to Rome during the Spanish negotiations. ' Last of all, because some malicious men may, and, as I hear, have given out, that I am not so true a keeper and maintainer of the true religion that I profess, I assure you, that I may with St. Paul say, that I have been trained up at Gamaliel's feet ; and although I shall never be so arrogant as to assume unto myself the rest, I shall so far show the end of it, that all the world may see that no man hath been, nor ever shall be,

more desirous to maintain the religion I profess than I shall be.' This looks as if the king already anticipated the disclosures which were imminent. The first speeches, however, delivered in the House of Commons during this reign, of which we have any record, are wisely though significantly conciliatory. Sir Benjamin Rudyard (one of the popular leaders), we are told, spoke to this effect: 'That the late distastes between the late king and parliament were the chief cause of all the miseries of the kingdom. *The first turn of which towards a reconciliation was given by the new king, then prince; by which accrued more benefit to the subject than in any Parliament these many hundred years. What may we then expect from him, being king, and having power in his own hands?* His good natural disposition, his freedom from vice, his travels abroad, *his being bred in Parliaments—promised greatly.* Therefore he moved to take such course now to sweeten all things between king and people that they may never afterwards disagree.' Sir Edward Coke accordingly moved, '*That there might be no committees for grievances or courts of justice; first, in respect of the plague; next, because this was the very beginning of the new king's reign, in which there can be no grievances as yet; thirdly, because the petition against grievances, in the last parliament of the late king, was preferred too late: only to petition for an answer to these. For, though the prince is gone, the king liveth; no interregnum.*'

In seeming recognition of the position thus assumed by the Commons, the solicitor-general, we are told, 'acquainted the House that the king had taken care of their grievances preferred the last parliament; and at any one day the House would assign, satisfaction would be given them therein.' Nothing, however, seems to have ensued from these amicable professions; and the plague continuing to increase, the Commons petitioned the king to grant them a recess. Charles replied 'that he had taken their safety, which he valued more than his own, into consideration; and when he should hear the Commons were ready with their bills (for he would not hasten them in anything), he would put an end to this session.' Thus placed in a dilemma between danger to their own lives, should the session at Westminster be pro-

longed, and the loss of their hold upon the king in the matter of redress of grievances, should they give him very large supplies, the Commons voted a moderate grant of two subsidies (about 140,000*l.*) and customs duties, or 'tonnage and poundage,' for *one year*, instead of for life, as had been usual. They thus placed it in their power to increase the grant in both instances, should the king fulfil his pledges. The Lords threw out the tonnage and poundage bill on account of the limitation to one year, and Charles angrily accepted the subsidies, urging the House through his ministers for more money. But the prevalent sickness at length left him no option but to adjourn the Parliament.

Before this took place, however, the king's protestantism and constitutional principles had been put to the test in another matter. A book published by Dr. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, and dedicated to King Charles, with the title of *An Appeal to Cæsar*, having fallen under the censure of the Commons on account of its Romanizing and Arminian views, and covert insinuations against the House itself, the king interfered with a message that, the doctor being his servant and chaplain-in-ordinary, he had taken the cause into his own hand; wished they would enlarge him, and that he would *take care to give the House satisfaction in it*. On this, Montague, upon giving in bail of 2,000*l.*, was discharged out of custody. He soon received a bishopric as a mark of royal favour; a form of 'satisfaction' to the House which it was not very likely to appreciate. Indeed, from this and several other incidents, it soon became apparent that, although Charles had a great jealousy of papal supremacy and all those portions of the Romish system which appeared to be irreconcilable with the royal supremacy as established at the Reformation, in other respects he looked upon the church of Rome as a much more desirable model for the Anglican church than the Puritan discipline which the majority of the nation desired to see established. It became evident that Charles, so far from carrying the Reformation beyond the stage which it had reached in the reign of his father and of Elizabeth, would seek by every means in his power to remove some of the obstacles which prevented English Roman-catholics from

entering the Anglican communion, and would, consequently, adopt, and impress as much as possible on the minds of others, the high-church and sacerdotal doctrines.

Great doubts had also arisen as to the sincerity of the new king in his professed desire of giving aid to his sister the Queen of Bohemia, in the attempted recovery of her rights. The cause of the Palatinate had been put in a very secondary place during the Spanish negotiations, as long as there was any desire of effecting that marriage; and subsequent events proved that, though by no means wanting in natural affection towards the queen and her children, Charles considered the cause with which they were identified as scarcely a fit one to engage the active co-operation of a king of England. The lesson of king-deposing which the Bohemians had taught the world, and the anti-despotic and ultra-Protestant character which, under their auspices, and those of the Dutch, the whole contest for the Palatinate had assumed, made on the mind of the second English Stuart quite as deep an impression as they had upon the first. It could not have escaped his ears that during a period of great popular exasperation against James, whispers had been heard of a design on the part of the Puritans to depose that king and place on the throne the Protestant Electress. A certain degree of jealousy, indeed, probably on this account, always marked the conduct of Charles towards his sister and her family.

The choice of a wife which James, at the desire of his son, had made for him from the Catholic House of Bourbon, increased the doubts as to the attachment of Charles to the Protestant religion. The sceptre of France was no longer wielded by the friend and ally of the Protestants, Henry of Navarre. The minority of Louis XIII. gave the supreme power first into the hands of his bigoted and unworthy mother, Mary de Medicis, and then, after the overthrow of her and her hated favourites, into the iron grasp of the Cardinal de Richelieu. The object of both these rulers was to establish firmly in France itself the arbitrary power of the crown, and a conformity to the Roman-catholic church, as the church of the crown. In Europe they desired to place France in that position, as the chief Catholic power and the arbiter of Christen-

dom, which had been occupied hitherto by the Austro-Spanish empire. To accomplish these two (practically) somewhat conflicting objects, a double policy was pursued towards the Huguenots of France, alternating between coercion and cajolement. Their repugnance to Spain was too great to make it at all likely that they would act in unison with that power against the government of their own country; and this the court of France knew well, and therefore often persecuted where it would otherwise have conciliated them. Still the necessity of opposing an undivided kingdom to the power of Spain rendered at times the position of the French Protestants more tolerable. Their natural protector was beyond question England; and hence to separate that country from the cause of the Huguenots became the policy of the court of France; on the other hand, it was clearly the interest of England to keep alive the kindly feeling which existed towards her in one portion of a rival nation. Several strongholds had been assigned to the Huguenots as a guarantee for the preservation of the pact made with them under the auspices of Henry IV. The most important of these was the fortified town of Rochelle, which had ever been the sanctuary of distressed Protestantism in the worst days of the League. At the commencement of the reign of Charles this Protestant town was besieged by the forces of the French king. Situated on the coast, Rochelle naturally looked to English ships for a guard against blockade, and for a supply of provisions and materials of war. But, though it had suited the inclinations of Buckingham and his pupil to go to war with Spain, with the alleged view of advancing the cause of Protestantism, they were not disposed to act similarly in a quarter where that cause was evidently endangered. In compliance with the secret stipulations of the French marriage-treaty, an English fleet had been raised under the pretext of acting against the Spanish interest in Italy and the Valtoline, and placed at the disposal of the French government to act against the Prince de Soubise and the Huguenots of Rochelle. But the English captains and seamen revolted, on learning the service to which they were destined; and ultimately the whole expedition came to nothing, leaving, however, a weight of obloquy on Charles who had,

under his own hand, ordered the admiral to proceed to extremities with the revolted seamen if they refused to obey the obnoxious command.

The French marriage brought with it another element of discord. The English Catholics had been always most unfortunate in the position into which events threw them relatively to the rest of the nation. Treated and patronized as martyrs by the *Court* of Rome and the ultra-Catholic powers of Europe, they became objects of suspicion and dislike to their own countrymen on all questions of foreign policy; and thrown by the same circumstances into the circle of despotic sympathies, they became similarly obnoxious in domestic affairs as favourers of royal autocracy. The Stuarts employed them as a means of revenue, granting them remissions of the penal laws on payment of sums of money to the crown. As the Catholics naturally enough accepted freedom from persecution on these terms, they provoked the anger of the Puritans, not merely as parties to a virtual violation of the Constitution, but also as enabling the crown, by their illegal grants of money, to dispense with the lawful aid of Parliament. The Spanish and French marriage-treaties rendered matters still worse. However we may condemn the indiscriminate persecution of the Catholics in England, we need not be surprised at some indignation being felt that a violation of the Constitution, by a suspension of the penal laws, should be insisted upon by foreign powers as a condition of marriages which were neither of them at all desired by the nation. The arrival of the young queen in England added fresh difficulties to the question of toleration. However disposed the English Catholics might have been to content themselves with simple toleration, the conduct of those by whom Henrietta Maria was accompanied, forced them into an aggressive attitude. A train of foreign priests and Jesuits was not a marriage-dowry likely to prove acceptable to the English nation. Not merely was the mass performed, under protection of the marriage-treaty, in the queen's private chapel, but this was looked upon by the Catholic world generally as the centre whence the true religion was again to radiate through the whole land. Father Berulle, writing to the French minister of state, Villeauxclercs, from Rome, on the 2nd of

October, 1624, observes, 'The court of Rome, its conduct, its principles, are very different from the previous notion and judgment which one forms of them without experience. I own that on the spot I have learnt more in a few hours than from all former speeches and accounts. The reputation of their government, the application and exaltation of its power, are the leading points in its councils, and of greater weight than many theological grounds. The Pope demands that the conditions respecting the English Catholics should be as ample in their favour on the occasion of this marriage with a French princess as those promised for the Spanish match : he demands that the children of Charles and Henrietta should be bred up Catholics, the Puritans thrust to the wall, and the way opened to him for the gradual re-establishment of his power in England.' Acting in this spirit, the priests who came over with Henrietta, far from preserving a modest retirement, thrust themselves into the public sight, and seemed to assume an authoritative character on the strength of their connexion with the court. They were accused of insolent dictation to the young queen, and were reported to have compelled her to perform the most degrading penances ; and such as committed her, in her character of Queen of England, to a reprobation of sentences against Catholic priests, which, justly or unjustly, had been pronounced by the voice of the law of England. Her alleged penance of walking on foot to the scene of the Catholic executions at Tyburn may have been a fable ; but there is no doubt that it accurately represents the spirit in which the queen's priests thought fit to conduct themselves.

Alarmed at these manifestations of reviving strength on the part of their old antagonists, the Puritan portion of the nation became vehement for the due execution of the penal laws against the English Catholics ; and the latter, instead of finding their position improved by the marriage, were exposed to the fury of popular resentment, with only the protection of their usefulness to the king in his financial difficulties, and his strong personal dislike to their persecutors. The main body of the Puritans, there is, unfortunately, little reason to doubt, were so far carried away by

their fears and prejudices as to desire to proceed to extremities against the Catholics. Some of their leaders, however, would have been quite satisfied if the sanction of Parliament had been obtained for any *special* remissions of sentences, so as to avoid the dangerous licence of mere royal dispensations; and if the extreme penalties had been kept suspended over the heads of the Catholics, so as to put a stop to all co-operation with the machinations of the papal court. Charles I. showed sufficiently, by his subsequent countenance of Laud's proceedings, that he was without any appreciation of the principle of religious liberty, but he had no dislike to the Catholic religion (except in its relation to the papal supremacy) sufficient to convert him, unless it suited his interests, into its active persecutor, and he was naturally disposed to shelter the Catholics from their and his opponents. On the other hand, there is reason to think that he would have been loath to convert these royal dispensations of the law into a Parliamentary repeal of the penal enactments. By taking the latter course (even if feasible) he would deprive himself of a valuable source of irregular revenue, and would lose the flattering dependence of one body of his subjects on the crown alone for freedom, and even life.

The House of Commons met again at Oxford, filled with ominous distrust and indignation at the Rochelle affair and the dispensations to the Catholics. The king demanded more money; but they, on the other hand, acting in the spirit of his own message, demanded priority of the question of grievances to any further supply. After twelve days' unavailing struggle by both parties to obtain their several ends, the Parliament was angrily dissolved by the king, who then resorted to illegal means of raising money by privy-seals. With the money thus collected, an expedition against Cadiz was organized by Buckingham, which ended in nothing but disgrace to England and triumph to Spain. To carry on the government of the country another Parliament became necessary; but, notwithstanding the attempts of the court to exclude the leading patriots by pricking them as sheriffs, this second Parliament was still more resolute than the first in insisting on a redress of grievances. The favourite was called in question

for the Spanish failure and alleged gross venality. Charles could not endure this attack in silence, but sent down a message to the House of Commons which contained these words : ' I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place and dear unto me. I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. I would you would hasten for my supply ; for if any evil happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it ! ' This intimation from the author of the parliamentary impeachment of Middlesex produced very angry eloquence among the Commons, which finally embodied itself in resolutions, ' that common fame was a good ground of accusation against Buckingham,' and notice was sent to him of these proceedings. This determined act was coupled with a vote of ' three subsidies and three fifteens ; ' the Commons thus exhibiting their desire to maintain the just dignity of the crown, while they exercised a rigorous censorship over the abuses with which it had been associated. A message from the king, containing a covert threat of dissolution, only led to a resolution to persevere, arrived at in a sitting with closed doors, and the key in the hands of the Speaker. Every means was employed to stop the Commons in their course ; but in vain ; and the Duke of Buckingham was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords on twelve articles. Speeches were delivered by the managers of the impeachment, which by their allusions to the Sejanus of ancient Rome suggested unpleasing associations to the mind of the king, and provoked another attempt to ' set seditious fellows fast.' Two members of the Lower House were committed to prison for their too daring allusions ; but the Commons refusing to go on with any public business till they were righted in this breach of their privileges, Charles was obliged to give way, and after eight days' imprisonment to release them. On re-entering the House, by a unanimous vote they were cleared from every imputation of disloyalty. On his side, the king, as if to provoke this spirit of resistance to the utmost, on a vacancy occurring at this time in the chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, sent down his royal mandate to the university to elect Buckingham.

Incensed at this mark of royal favour to one lying under a parliamentary impeachment, the popular party set up on the spur of the moment Lord Andover, eldest son of the Earl of Berkshire, as the duke's opponent ; and, notwithstanding the violent coercion over the members of the senate exercised by the court, Buckingham gained his election only by three votes. The House of Commons, taking up the matter, sent to crave an audience of the king 'about serious business, concerning all the Commons of the land.' Charles, who knew what this meant, replied that they should hear from him the next day, and dissolved the Parliament.

This second Parliament had been as troubled in its proceedings in the Upper as in the Lower House. In the first Parliament of Charles, we have seen that the Lords took the side of the crown on the question of the grant of tonnage and poundage. In this Parliament, however, Charles had provoked their anger by imprisoning in the Tower the Earl of Arundel for some personal offence to Buckingham. Arundel had been imprisoned in the previous reign for opposition to the court ; and although he appears not to have troubled himself much about constitutional questions, he possessed a good deal of the dignity and independence of the older barons, of whom he was one of the few representatives. The Peers took up his case warmly, and, as with the Commons, Charles was, after a short struggle, compelled to give way and release his prisoner. While the House of Lords was still in a state of opposition to the crown upon this question, the Earl of Bristol, who had been kept, first by fair words, and then by peremptory injunctions, from taking his seat, demanded his writ of summons. It was sent to him accompanied by a private letter forbidding him to attend. Bristol sent this letter to the Lords, and demanded to be allowed to appear in their House and accuse Buckingham. Charles retorted by sending down the attorney-general with an accusation of high treason against Bristol ; but the Lords decided that this should not prejudice the earl's right, and Bristol with their sanction drove in triumph to the House, and there gave in articles against Buckingham. The gist of the counter-accusations was a mutual charge of popish tendencies in

the Spanish affair. Bristol boldly asserted the falsehood of the narrative with which Buckingham abused the credulity of Parliament in the last reign. On this Charles interfered by a message stating that this was identical with an accusation against himself, seeing he had personally vouched for the truth of the duke's narrative. Bristol gravely deplored having to contend with a king and a king's favourite, but persevered in his statement, adding still fuller explanations, which completely satisfied the House, if not of *his* innocence, at any rate of the falsehoods of Buckingham. The impeachment of the Commons, however, superseded these recriminating charges, and the dissolution of the Parliament put an end to the matter.

Left to himself, the king proceeded with an extension of those illegal means of raising money which Elizabeth had not attempted, and which James had signally failed in carrying out. Votes for subsidies had passed the Commons; but the bill which would make their payment imperative on the people had not passed, owing to the premature dissolution. Charles and his agents now attempted to persuade the nation that the mere voting of the supplies was sufficient ground for their enforcement in the shape of taxes. So they were levied accordingly. The crown lands were *improved*—to the benefit of Charles—through a special commission. The Catholics now suffered from the crown, which, in defiance of the marriage treaty, did not scruple to enforce, by a commission, enormous penalties against religious recusants. Privy-seals for money were sent out to gentlemen of large property, and an immediate advance of 120,000*l.* was demanded from the City of London. A levy of ships from the outports completed this first stage of the king's home government.

Meanwhile, abroad the broken Protestant interest of Germany had sought refuge in the assistance of the Lutheran king of Denmark, Christian IV. Peace had been established in 1613 between Christian and the young King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus; but a prepossession in favour of Denmark as an ally existed throughout Protestant Germany, and it was not till the defeat of Christian in the bloody battle of Lutter, that Europe learnt to whom she must look for the

redemption of the sinking cause of religious and civil freedom. But this battle gave Charles an opportunity of levying, as he alleged, in aid of his distressed ally, a general forced loan by commissioners, armed with extreme inquisitorial powers. This attempt to generalize what had hitherto never been attempted in the worst times on more than a partial basis, was enforced by means as illegal as the loan itself. Court chaplains preached in favour of the divine authority of arbitrary power and the duty of passive obedience; and when refusal met the illegal demand, the men who hesitated thus to undermine the liberties of their country, were committed to prison, or sent into the army or navy as common soldiers, or into the Palatinate, on some pretended mission. The judges decided in favour of the crown all cases which were brought before them; and, to complete the misery into which the nation was plunged under this royal rule, the remains of the debauched soldiery who had tarnished the fair fame of their country in the expedition against Cadiz, were quartered upon the people, and with impunity carried the worst licence of the camp into the midst of the domestic circle.

But relief was at hand. For the second time the caprices and overweening presumption of Buckingham wrought eminent services to the cause of free law. The rupture with Spain had led to the revival of the right of impeachment; and now a rupture with France led to the assembly of a Parliament, which left on the records of our legislature a still more important enunciation of rights. Villiers, of the beauty of whose person a grave antiquary has left a remarkable account, in an embassy to France, presumed upon the strength of this recommendation to make love to the young queen—Anne of Austria. He is said to have been favourably received in his addresses; but a formidable rival interposed in the person of the Cardinal Richelieu, at first the lover and then the bitter persecutor of the future regent of France. When Buckingham was desirous, afterwards, of repeating his visit to Paris, in order to carry on his love-project, the jealous cardinal interposed a stern veto on his presence; and the disappointed favourite revenged himself in his old way by stirring up the flames of war between the two countries. As before the recovery of

the Palatinate had been the popular measure under which he sought to cover the gratification of private spite, so now the Huguenots of Rochelle offered a suitable means of effecting his end. Henrietta Maria's French servants were dismissed at the duke's instigation; but not before they had given ample cause for the measure, as appears by the king's own letter of dismissal. The queen herself was insulted by Buckingham, who sedulously promoted the ill-feeling which her caprice had created between her and her husband. Without any warning a number of French ships were seized, and their cargoes disposed of to the benefit of Buckingham and his friends; while the unfortunate English merchants were left to meet the results of French retaliation, without either the time to escape from them or the compensation to which they were fairly entitled. An expedition was fitted out, under the personal command of the duke, for the relief of Rochelle; but the whole ended in an ill-judged disembarkation on the island of Rhé—a useless and exaggerated interchange of courtesies with the enemy which wasted precious time—failure in the face of inferior forces, and decimation by disease much more than by the sword of the enemy. Leaving his sick and wounded to the mercies of the inhabitants of Rochelle, who nobly relieved them out of their own small stock of provisions, Buckingham returned to England with the wreck of the expedition, having displayed, during the short campaign, only one virtue, that of personal bravery; and on his arrival was encountered by the gracious smiles of his forgiving master, and by the deep execrations of the English nation. These had at last found a voice; for the king, unable longer to struggle with the financial difficulties in which the expedition involved him, set at liberty the men he had illegally imprisoned, and issued writs for a new Parliament.

The third Parliament of Charles has earned for itself a name in history in connexion with its great constitutional achievement, the Petition of Rights. It is not intended on this occasion to follow the steps of this remarkable struggle. These may easily be traced in the pages of Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, and (with the advantage of valuable illustrative comment) in the pages of Mr. Forster's *States-*

men of the Commonwealth. The vicissitudes of the contest present—with a difference of degree only—the same general features with the earlier Parliaments of Charles. The king is equally rash, overbearing, pusillanimous, and treacherous; the Commons are equally prudent and courteous, but increasingly resolute and self-reliant. The session begins with a blustering speech from the throne, and ends with a royal humiliation. The king resists long enough and with a tortuousness sufficient to exhibit his rooted *animus*, and his unscrupulous faithlessness. He yields too late for securing any depth of gratitude, and in a manner to prevent even the ordinary manifestation of loyal enthusiasm. He contrives to place distinctly on record that the crown has been worsted in the contest, and sends the representatives of the people home to their constituents with all the bitter feelings of a prolonged struggle unsoftened by a single touch of genial good feeling on the part of the sovereign; and with feelings of suspicion and jealousy for the future, aggravated by the proceeding which ought—had it been properly managed—to have set them finally at rest. A few notices of the more remarkable of these guardians of the public liberties, and some remarks on the position in which the crown stood relatively to the nation at the close of the first session of this Parliament, may be useful accompaniments to any minuter study of its proceedings.

The leader of the popular party in the Parliament of 1628-9 was SIR JOHN ELIOT, one of the many great men contributed by the west of England to this period of the national history. With talents of the highest order, Eliot combined much simple dignity of manner. Warm feelings, under the control of a severely-trained judgment, were blended in him with an almost stern sincerity and earnestness of purpose, which inspired his political associates with a deferential respect equal to their admiration and love. Himself disinterested in a high degree, he seemed to have, along with this quality, an instinctive perception of the existence of meaner and lower motives in others who passed with the world at large for disinterested patriots. A firm and unwavering friend, he was also without reproach in his domestic relations. He was not a mere poli-

tician ; but had enriched his mind with the lore of antiquity, especially such as rose to the height of his own lofty ideas. Constitutional history, and the higher grades of literature, held equal sway in his tastes. He possessed the power of concentrating the results of his reading upon any subject with great effect ; and this faculty renders his speeches richer in illustrative allusion than those of most of his contemporaries. In his religious opinions he must be classed among the Puritans ; and among that section of them who have been called Doctrinal Puritans. A strong opponent of Arminianism, he was Erastian in his ideas of church government, and was rather an enemy to the introduction of new doctrines and ceremonies than an advocate of a change in the constitution of the church of England. It only remains to be said that he was a complete master of the system of parliamentary tactics, and was second to no one in the management of the business of the House.

In his public motives, as high-minded as Eliot, the character of JOHN PYM, the son of a Somersetshire squire, presents, in some points, a striking contrast to that of his political associate. Eliot was naturally of an impetuous and fiery disposition, and his speeches have all the warmth in accordance with such a temperament. Pym was, in general, of a more equable and cautious disposition ; and the kindliness of his demeanour, and his agreeable social qualities, attracted to the cause of which he was the advocate many who would have shrunk from the sterner appeals of Eliot. At the same time, on great public occasions, there was a grave dignity in his bearing, which seemed to his contemporaries to represent fitly the public body of which he was so distinguished a member. In power of application to the most onerous and distasteful tasks, Pym stands unrivalled ; and he surpasses all in the wonderful mastery which he obtained over a mass of seemingly disconnected details, and in the clear and vigorous manner in which he extracted the kernel of the matter from the dry husk of irrelevant circumstance in which it might be wrapped up. Equalling any antiquary in the minuteness and laboriousness of his examination of facts, he never sank under the weight of his own acquisitions ; but, clothing them in

simple but striking language, raised them, in their application, into the higher regions of broad and general principles. His eloquence, inferior to Eliot's in richness of illustration, and wanting his fervour of expression, was superior in natural ease, and accommodation to the minds of a mixed audience. Of an essentially constructive mind, he never fell down and worshipped the idols of his own creation, and always kept the opinions and feelings of others before his eyes. Less severe than Eliot in his judgment on the follies of the world around him, he had less of his instinctive recognition of baser motives, but he had greater acquired knowledge of men. The conduct of Pym would appear to have been more subject to the influence of worldly motives than that of Eliot; but it would be difficult to find an instance in which such influences were less open to blame. Thus, in the course of his political career, Pym associated with men, and employed instruments, from an acquaintance with whom, and from the use of which Eliot's keen sensibilities would probably have shrunk; but it has never yet been shown that in his intercourse with the one, or in his employment of the other, he outstepped the limits of moral principle.

In his relations with his family Pym exhibits the same mixture of kind feelings with calm judgment and shrewd cautious foresight which marked his public conduct. The following unpublished letter is so characteristic, that no apology will be needed for inserting it in this connection. It is a model epistle from a kind but prudent father to a scrapegrace son:—

To my Son Alexander Pym, one of the Gentlemen of Colonel Herbert's Company in the States' Army. Deliver these with speed.

London, 23rd Nov., 1634.

Alexander,—I lately writ to you by a messenger sent by Allen the post, and delivered him 10*l.* to be paid unto you by the same messenger. In that letter I gave you leave to go from the army if you would, and to live in what part you thought good, till you should receive further direction from me. Since that time I have spoken with Mr. Darley, and he hath given me a good report of you; whereupon I have conceived some hope that I shall find you a changed man. Wherefore I am very willing to call you home. But, because I have not yet compounded with your creditors, though I have set one awork to treaty with two of the greatest of them which I can find—that is Wroth and Robins; Peek I know not where to inquire for; the rest I know none but Mr. Darley and Mr. Knightley—that I may have the most time to compound with them,

I would not have you here till the end of January ; and when you shall land, I would not have you come to me till you hear from me, for if they ever take notice you are reconciled to me, I shall bring them to no reason. Therefore keep yourself private, and send to me before you come. I will then give you directions what to do. I have delivered Allen 5*l.* more, which he hath promised that you shall receive with this letter, which I hope will be sufficient to bring you home. Yet, lest you might have some extraordinary occasion, I have promised him to pay 5*l.* more, if you take up so much of his servant, which he saith shall furnish you, if there be need. Now let me see by your thrifty and discreet carriage in this small matter how I may trust you in greater, and assure yourself, as I am very apt to receive you, if you be truly a reformed man, so you will easily fall back into my displeasure, if you bring home your old faults and follies with you. Thus I pray God direct you in his fear, and commend you to his blessing. Resting your loving Father,

JO. PYM.

[Across the back.] I have appointed Allen to pay all charges for this and the former money. If you can send me a private note of your other debts, and where I may find Mr. Peek, to whom you owe 500*l.*, I shall see better. Make all ready for your return, how soon I permit you to come, in a private manner, and to be here by the end of January.*

It is satisfactory to know that Alexander Pym became a reformed character, a respectable member of society, and a colonel in the Puritan army.

His enemies have thrown some imputation on the purity of Pym's morals ; but no evidence has ever been adduced of the truth of these accusations, and while we find them irreconcilable with much which is handed down to us of his actions and language, we can easily explain their origin from the mixed character of the company which he kept, and the genial manners which he carried into every society. In his principles a Puritan, he probably agreed at this time with Eliot in the form of Puritanism which he embraced, though subsequent events carried him onward to a further stage of religious opinion. Such was the man who, after Eliot, possessed the greatest influence in the counsels of the Commons.

We next come to the name of one associated with the preceding in equality of talents, but fatally deficient in the high principle which in them so strongly excites our admiration.

SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH (as Mr. Forster has proved clearly in his able life of him), never was, in the proper sense of the term, a patriot ; but from the first felt his natural leanings

* *Additional MSS.* Brit. Mus. No. 11,692, pp. 1, 2.

to be to the service of a despotic prince. The shackles of parliamentary forms, and the restraints of constitutional law, were both oppressive to his haughty and ambitious genius. He acted with the popular party only because it was in this manner that he could best make his real talents known to the crown, and compel Charles to secure his services. His great aim was to enter the service of the king in no subordinate capacity, but as his chief minister and adviser, uncontrolled in his actions by any but the monarch himself. As long as Buckingham lived this was an impossibility; and the favourite seems to have been sufficiently sensible of the danger of admitting such a 'rival near the throne,' to take some pains to disoblige and irritate the aspirant for power into factious opposition to the court. But he could not make Wentworth commit himself entirely to that course; for, while launching into occasional philippics against the king's advisers and their tyrannical counsels, he never failed to soften the attack by some piece of delicate flattery to the superior motives and character of the sovereign himself. Even if Wentworth had been disposed to choose the parliamentary and popular arena as the scene of his labours and triumphs, he found too many rivals on that stage to be able long to endure the divided empire. Eliot was the principal object of his jealousy and dislike. From the first there seems to have been a natural antipathy between these great men; and it was observed that, even when they spoke on the same side of the question, there was something antagonistic to each other in the mode of handling it. Pym was at first on more friendly and intimate terms with Wentworth, and the consciousness of his having been misled as to the character of his former associate, no doubt lent additional force to the determination with which he followed out Wentworth's own advice (as a patriot) against the person of the adviser himself.* It

* Wentworth's expressions in this session respecting any future infringement of the liberties of the nation have been often quoted: 'By one and the same thing hath the king and people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. To vindicate—what? New things? No! our ancient, lawful, and vital liberties! by reinforcing of the ancient laws made by our ancestors; by setting such a stamp upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them.'

is from his subsequent career that we learn how great were Wentworth's talents, how untiring his energy, how powerful his oratory. What we might have mistaken in the former part of his life for a cowardly dread of ill-consequences to his own person, we find, from his subsequent conduct, to have been merely the caution of a man who was seeking for, but had not found, his appropriate sphere of action. Once launched forth upon this, no danger appalled him, no inferior selfish motive was allowed to interfere with his pursuit of the one great selfish end he had set before him. Proud and overbearing in his nature, he could assume great gentleness, and flatter the man he hated, and whom he might (but for policy) have crushed at once. 'Naturally exceedingly choleric, he kept strict watchfulness over himself concerning it; yet it could not be so prevented but sometimes upon sudden occasions it would break. He had sundry friends that often admonished him of it; and he had the great prudence to take in good part such admonitions.' He himself says, 'it is not always anger, but the misapplying of it, that is the vice so blameable, and of disadvantage to those that let themselves loose thereunto.' This treatment of passion as an engine of policy is eminently characteristic of Wentworth, both intellectually and morally. In his private character he presents a double aspect. He was a kind husband and father, but he shared in the general laxity of morals of the court circles of that day; and however unprepossessing his features, he caused more than one scene of confusion and disgrace within other family circles. As might be supposed, with the Puritans he never had any feeling in common, though the stamp of his character, through all its vices, was so remarkable, that his clear-sighted worldliness often rose to a seeming level with their most lofty ideas.

His abandonment of the popular cause, during the recess between the two sessions of this Parliament, was not so great a loss to the popular party as it was to the king a great gain. Instead of the wayward abilities of Buckingham, and the painful insignificance of a Secretary Coke, Charles had the splendid talents of one of the most powerful minds of his own or any

age placed at his disposal, with a devotion and utter negation of all *conflicting* ideas of self, which the king, incredulous of real disinterestedness, and even of the politic self-sacrifice of such a man as Wentworth, was wholly unable to appreciate. It was this want of appreciation—this short-sighted distrust on the part of Charles, which really saved the Constitution of England. Had Wentworth been allowed to carry out his wide and well-organized schemes of royal aggrandizement, I will not say with the assistance, but only without the interference of the king, we might tremble to reflect on the possible fate of liberty in this country. All that Wentworth asked was to be the chief minister of a sovereign who owed the acquisition of arbitrary power to *his* exertions. But Charles could not divest his mind of the idea—springing naturally from his own inferiority of intellect—that Wentworth would seek safety or aggrandizement for himself in some more immediately accessible sphere of authority, and would abandon his master in the attainment of their great common end. Besides, as soon as Wentworth had by his genius smoothed the way to some seemingly inaccessible object, the very ease with which he had secured this for his royal master, dwarfed with Charles both the real difficulty of the attainment and the merit of the performer. Nor could the narrow-minded prince see that his only security, when he had once thrown away the protection of the laws, by passing out of their limits, was in the encouragement and cordial co-operation afforded to a genius such as Wentworth's. Instead of this, when he thought the latter had sufficiently involved himself in the infamy of despotic measures, to prevent his return to the popular side, he treated coldly the man whom he thought at his mercy, and of whose talents he was jealous. With the inconsistency of a little mind, Charles both sought for greatness through the instrumentality of others, and when he had acquired it, hated them for the necessity of their services, which implied his own dependence upon them.

JOHN HAMPDEN was the eldest son of William Hampden, Esq., of Hampden, in the county of Buckingham. His mother was a daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchin-

brook, in the county of Huntingdon ; and through her he was first-cousin to Oliver Cromwell.*

The character of Hampden was very peculiar, and such as exposed him to peculiar misrepresentation with political opponents. A deep and careful thinker, and an accomplished student in many branches of literature, he was still more deeply read in the characters of men. His behaviour towards all men, to employ the language of Clarendon, was marked by 'a flowing courtesy ;' but, at the same time, to those who were brought into any but the most intimate relations with him, there was a certain reserve apparent which was differently construed by them, according to their several prepossessions towards him. It has been often a matter of wonder that, concerning one so prominent in the earlier scenes of this great revolution, so few personal facts should have been handed down. He lived in the midst of great events and great actions, and, according to the universal judgment of contemporaries, exercised the most important influence over them ; yet (if we except the ship-money case) no prominent man of that period is so little definitely connected with the *details* of events by positive accounts of the nature of his participation. That he wielded the minds of those around him, and moulded their actions in accordance with his own views, is apparent to any one conversant with the records of those days. Yet this was done almost imperceptibly, as to the particular means employed, by a quiet influence over those who were the prominent actors in any affair, rather than by a personal attitude such as that assumed by Eliot

* He was educated in the free grammar-school of Thame, in Oxfordshire, and in 1609 entered as a commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford. On the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the ill-fated Elector-palatine, John Hampden was chosen, with William Laud and others, to write the university Latin gratulatory verses. The last lines of this college 'exercise' have excited attention from the hope they express respecting the marriage : '*Ut surgat inde proles, cui nulla terra, nulla gens sit parem datura*'—

That thence a race may spring
To which nor land nor lineage
Shall e'er the equal bring.

From the marriage respecting which this hope is indulged in, sprang the leader of the troops by whom John Hampden was slain, and the family which was destined to displace the Stuarts from the throne of England.

and Pym. You have a measure of the influence which the latter exerted over the counsels of the nation in their speeches on all great occasions which have descended to us. Hampden seems to have spoken little, and to have avoided in every possible case coming into collision with the individual prejudices of those with whom he had to act, by clothing the views which he wished to recommend in too personal a fashion. It was his natural instinct more than his deliberate policy to make every one work out the desired result through the medium of such person's own peculiar trains of thought, instead of forcing it upon him in the hard definite shape of a conception already crystallized in the mind of another. His intimate acquaintance with the characters and secret motives and impulses of others, rendered this to him not only an easy task, but an inevitable one. Those who see with a clearness at all approaching to his into the dispositions and guiding ideas of others, cannot preserve in their intercourse with them the same independent mode, either of language or action, which they are able to do who have less personal insight. It is, perhaps, a just price which is paid by those to whom this peculiar power is given, that they themselves are reacted upon in a certain proportion to their influence over others; and in guiding these become themselves less independent. Such a character, however, inevitably exposes the possessor, on particular occasions, to imputations of indirectness, *suppressio veri*, and intriguing craftiness. The disproportion between the influence felt to be exercised and the part overtly taken will often strike those who have been unfavourably affected in their wishes by the result. Of course the danger of such a character lies in this direction; but it is very far from being necessarily the case that the accusations thus made are always true. In the instance of Hampden there is quite sufficient evidence of manly straightforwardness, and moral courage to refute the accusation. His conduct, not merely in the ship-money case, where he stood alone and unprotected in the breach of the Constitution against a court armed with all the powers of despotism, but on subsequent occasions, wherever the brief notices we obtain of it enable us to form any judgment, attests his directness

in identifying himself with distinct views of policy, however difficult it is to trace his individual share in carrying them out. Clarendon identifies him with 'the root-and-branch men'—those who never faltered when they had once decided on their course. The comparatively short-sighted and timid D'Ewes has no hesitation about what is the general tone of his policy, though he accuses him of subtlety in working it out. He always names him among 'the fiery spirits,'—a noble fraternity, including such men as Pym, Strode, and Vane. Charles had no hopes of conciliating him, and struck at him with no hesitating hand in the impeachment of the five members and the proclamations during the Civil War. If he was a silent influence in the House of Commons, he was an active partisan in the camp and on the battle-field. We have but few glimpses into his private life; but these few must impress nearly every one with a feeling that his was not a mind which could work out its ends by unworthy means. Some letters which passed between him and Eliot, during the latter's imprisonment in the Tower, exhibit in a rare degree a masculine good sense in healthy union with the most delicate and refined perceptions. There is 'a steady glow of genuine worth' in them, which cannot fail to cast its explanatory light over the more obscure parts of his conduct. The morals of Hampden, in mature life, except on the point alluded to, are unimpeached by any of his opponents. By his tenantry, his constituents, and all those who were brought into similar relations with him by the vicissitudes of his life, he was idolized. As a Puritan, Hampden has been sometimes classed among the Independents, or Congregationalists; and perhaps he approached more nearly to their views of church government than to those of any other class. Still, in the general features of his religious opinions, he resembled rather the Doctrinal Puritans.

In estimating the talents and character of JOHN SELDEN, it is probable that we shall find reason to think that, relatively to the other *statesmen* of his time, he has been placed, by the judgment of posterity, in too elevated a position. In profound knowledge of books, and in the power of arranging and keeping at his disposal the information thus acquired,

he is allowed by every one to stand first of all the men of that age. A man more deeply read in the learning of ancient times, or more completely versed in the minutiae of almost every known science or profession, has scarcely ever existed. As a constitutional lawyer, an enlightened theologian, an accurate antiquary, and a dispassionate philosopher, it would be difficult to point out his equal. But the powers of mind evinced by this various learning were not accompanied by equivalent qualities of the soul or heart. His familiarity with the history of the violent contentions concerning truth in former times, while they made him candid and impartial in his estimate of the opinions of others, had given him too little positive reliance on his own, and imparted a coldness to his advocacy of their merits. A vigorous and sarcastic denouncer of the bigotry of churchmen and the fanaticism of sectarians, he had none of that warm religious feeling of which both the errors he denounced were but the excess. He tolerated error of thought, but he allowed no palliation for extravagance of conduct or language ; since for the one he found an ample apology in the experience of his own mind, but for the other he had felt no corresponding emotions in his own heart to suggest an excuse. By this defect in Selden, no doubt, we must explain those weak compliances in the hour of trial by which he lowered his character in the estimation of his friends, and tarnished his fair fame in the eyes of posterity. To keep the high position which Eliot, Pym, and Hampden maintained, required something more than the powers of mind implied by even such vast learning as Selden's ; and the self-respect in which the last so unhappily failed, is more closely connected with the emotions, and less with the intellect, than is sometimes supposed. No mental discipline, however severe, no calm judgment, however strong and unprejudiced, could supply in Selden the want of that deep religious feeling and conviction of the heart which imparted to the genius of those great men breadth and solidity. Clarendon gives us a casual insight into the effect which this failing had upon Selden's character, when he tells us that on Charles I. expressing some intention of conferring the Great Seal upon Selden, those whom the king consulted

on the subject dissuaded him from doing so, saying 'they did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection to the king, but withal knew him so well that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place if it were offered to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; *he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved*; was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment, which he had never affected.*' And the same writer, in an account of his personal friends in early life, after passing a high eulogium on the learning and character of Selden, remarks that he, Clarendon, 'was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached for staying in London and in the Parliament after they were in rebellion, and in the worst times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions were which were every day done, he (Clarendon) was confident he had never given his consent to them, but would have hindered them *if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent.*'†

The morals of Selden were irreproachable, and in the various relations of life we find his conduct mentioned with warm praise. As to his manners in society, differing accounts exist. Clarendon says that his 'humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts; but that his goodnature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding.' Sir Simonds D'Ewes, on the other hand (a prejudiced man, however, and one who may have been influenced by jealousy of a brother antiquary), writes thus in his autobiography: 'On Tuesday, September 28, 1624, going, as I frequently used, to visit Sir Robert Cotton, England's prime antiquary, I there met Mr. John Selden, of the Inner Temple, a man of deep knowledge, and almost incomparable learning, as his many published works do sufficiently witness, with whom Sir Robert, our joint friend, brought me acquainted, and we held ever after a good outward correspondence; but *both of them*

* *Rebellion*, p. 229.

† *Life*, p. 923.

being more learned than pious, I never sought after, or ever attained unto any great entireness with them; yet I had much more familiarity with Sir Robert Cotton than with Mr. Selden, being a man exceedingly puffed up with the apprehension of his own abilities.' Selden's *Table Talk* certainly gives us the impression of a man who could be quite as disagreeable as agreeable, according to his appreciation of those into whose company he might be thrown. It is some confirmation of one part of D'Ewes' account that Sir Robert Cotton, whom, with Selden, he here speaks of as 'more learned than pious,' after having been himself a leading patriot in preceding Parliaments, was, just before the meeting of the Parliament of 1628, 'tempted into concessions' to the king 'extremely unworthy of him,' in a paper which he gave in to the Lords of the Council, on being consulted as to the summoning of a Parliament. 'It is probable that a rumour of this, coupled with his silence on the affair of the loan, led to his defeat at the Westminster election.' 'Eliot,' however, 'was warmly attached to him,' and 'it was at the meetings held at his house, where all the eminent men of the day assembled, that Eliot's intimate friendship with Selden most probably commenced.' That Selden was conscientious and right in all his intentions, and that his occasional compliances were the exceptions and not the rule of his conduct, this friendship is a sufficient evidence.

As a statesman, Selden forms a connecting link between the men whose characters have been just delineated, and a class of patriots to whom I have now to allude, and who may well receive the general name of CONSTITUTIONAL ANTIQUARIES. Such (besides Sir Robert Cotton) were Sir Edward Coke, William Noy, William Hakewill, Serjeant John Glanville, and Edward Littleton. These men had studied the records and charters upon which our Constitution is based, and the statutes and precedents by which its provisions, in theory and in practice, were determined, until they virtually, in their own minds, made an end of the means, and valued every principle in legislation, and every social regulation, according to its consonance with the 'wisdom of our ancestors.' This dislike to any alteration in existing things which had not been sanctioned by the experience of

bygone ages, is in many cases a most valuable characteristic of the Englishman. It guards against the crude and mutable legislation of other countries, and also against the encroachments of despotic power. This we found when the Stuarts commenced their attempts to subvert the laws of England. The services of such men, in the early stage of that great contest, were invaluable; and as long as the struggle was strictly conservative on the part of the Commons, they were for the most part among the leaders of the popular party. Some, indeed, proved untrue to their first principles; but even then it was by the counter-charm of the 'precedents' of tyranny that they were led astray. It is no surprise, therefore, to find some of the names which were most conspicuous during the former part of the struggle disappearing from the leadership when the course of events obliged the Commons, in their turn, to 'rear new customs,' and violate established usage.

The other popular leaders, during the third Parliament of Charles, I can little more than name. Some reappear conspicuously in a subsequent part of the Revolution. Such are Denzil Holles, second son of the Earl of Clare; Sir Benjamin Rudyard, John Crewe, Benjamin Valentyne, Sir Walter Erle, Francis Rous, Sir Francis Seymour, Walter Long, and a cousin of Oliver Cromwell's, Sir Thomas Barrington. Among those whose career was confined to the earlier stages of the drama, may be mentioned Sir Dudley Digges, the fellow-sufferer of Eliot in one of his imprisonments, and Christopher Wandesford, the friend and follower of Sir Thomas Wentworth, both of whom soon deserted the popular cause; and as remaining faithful to the end of their political career, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Miles Fleetwood (father of *the* Fleetwood of history), William Coryton, and Sir Peter Heyman.

Such were leaders of the popular party in the great parliamentary campaign of 1628. We may next consider what was the exact position in which Charles I. stood relatively to the English nation at the close of this memorable session.

The English Constitution, originating, as we have seen, partly in the class privileges of the Saxon, partly in the rights and requirements of Norman feudalism, had been

defined by traditional charters, or feudal relations. Its maintenance was secured by the warlike and independent spirit of the nation, or by the weakness and crimes of the sovereign. Its infringements are landmarks of the depression of the people and the superior talents or fortuitous position of the king. New charters were granted, meeting particular cases of oppression as they rose, and incidentally and frequently without any intention laying down general principles, which included in their grasp many other possible abuses. As the crown or the nation gained the upper hand, these precedents of liberty and oppression were produced, on either side, as warrants for their proceedings. When society, therefore, began to be less governed by temporary force, and more by settled and permanent law, it became necessary to determine on competent authority the comparative value of these conflicting precedents. During the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles a contest to secure such a decision prevailed to a greater or less extent. By degrees the opposing claims stood in more distinctly antagonistic attitudes. The crown widened its pretensions, so as to include every successful act of royal encroachment; the Commons widened theirs, so as to deduce broad and general principles from the particular precedents of their freedom. There can be no doubt on whose side the right lay; and we have just seen in whose favour the contest had apparently been decided. From the day when Charles I. assented to the Petition of Right, we are relieved, so far as the Stuarts are concerned, from any remote inquiries as to precedents for royal power or popular liberties. The inquiry has been made; and the decision is contained in the act thus ratified by the sovereign. The Constitution was not really changed by this enactment; it was simply cleared from arbitrary interpolations. Thus commenced a new era with the House of Stuart; and it is by their conduct, from this day forward, relatively to the Constitution, to a definite interpretation of which they had thus given their sanction, that the justice or injustice of the resistance afterwards offered to them in the senate and on the battle-field is rightly to be estimated. It appears to me that, after this era in his life, there never was another opportunity presented to Charles I.

of governing with complete honour to himself and real safety to the liberties of England. Had he signed the Petition of Right in good faith, and adhered to it without any attempt to evade or infringe it, he might have passed the rest of his life in the peaceful enjoyment of a considerable share of power ; quite as much as had legally been possessed by any of his predecessors, much more than was ever again possessed by any English king. Afterwards, when *securities* became necessary against his dissimulation, and when many of his personal advisers became so involved in his misdeeds, that neither could he, on the one hand, abandon them with honour, nor the Parliament, on the other, pass over their offences with safety, all real chance of an honest agreement between the contending parties was at an end ; the Parliament was compelled to demand conditions inconsistent with the existence of a real limited monarchy, and to arrogate powers to itself inconsistent with the proper balance among constituted authorities ; the deposition of the king became a matter of course, his death on the scaffold proved a terrible necessity.*

The abrupt and tumultuous conclusion of the second session of the Parliament of 1628-9 is well known. The refusal of Speaker Finch to put to the vote the remonstrance against the levy of tonnage and poundage without consent of Parliament, provoked a scene of unexampled confusion. The exact conduct of the Speaker was the subject of a report to the House of Commons in an ensuing Parliament,† and seems to have been as follows. He delivered his majesty's command to adjourn the House immediately for a week. This initiative was objected to as unconstitutional. Eliot then presented the remonstrance to the Speaker to read aloud. The Speaker refused. Eliot presented it to the clerk at the table, who also refused. Eliot then read it himself, and called on the Speaker to put it to the vote. Finch declined, saying that he was commanded otherwise by the king. For this he was sternly rebuked by Selden. ' You are by his majesty, sitting in his

* This point, the proof of which extends over many years, is my deliberate judgment, after the most careful consideration.

† *Journals of Commons*, April 20, 1640, from Mr. Lewknour's and Mr. Cage's notes.

royal chair before both Houses, appointed our Speaker, and do you now *refuse* to be a Speaker?' Finch replied, he had an express command from the king, so soon as he had delivered his majesty's message, to leave the chair presently, and to put no question, but to wait upon his majesty presently. Being pressed again to put the question, he answered he was commanded to put *no* question; and thereupon he rose and left the chair. He was dragged to it again by Denzil Holles, Valentyne, and others. Sir Thomas Edmonds and other privy-councillors endeavoured to free the Speaker; but Holles swore, 'God's wounds! he should *sit still* till it pleased *them* to rise.' Then the Speaker, being again commanded to put the question, answered, with abundance of tears, 'He was the servant of the House, and would sacrifice his life for the good of his country, but let not the reward of my services,' said he, 'be my ruin! The reason why I left the chair was not to disobey you, but to obey his majesty. Being the king's servant doth not make me less yours. I will not say I *will* not put the question, but, I say, I *dare* not.' After fresh severe reproaches against the Speaker's conduct from Selden and others, Eliot, in the midst of the general confusion and excitement, presented a protestation against tonnage and poundage, and the other illegal proceedings and evil tendencies of the government, and gave it to Holles, who read it article by article, the House assenting to each with loud shouts. The door had been locked, lest the serjeant-at-arms should take away the mace. Admission was demanded and refused to the usher of the black rod. Then the king sent an armed force to break open the doors; but the protestation had by this time been read, and the doors being thrown open, the representatives of the nation streamed forth in wild disorder, not to reassemble for deliberation until after an interval of eleven years.

From the moment of the dissolution of his third Parliament, the government of Charles became a despotism scarcely disguised by unsubstantial forms of law. He first wreaked his vengeance on the 'vipers,' as he called the leaders of the popular party in the House of Commons. The fate of Sir John Eliot is well known. Refusing

to give bail for 'good behaviour' for the future, on the ground of its being an infringement of the privilege of Parliament, he was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, until death, hastened by long confinement in a damp, unwholesome cell, want of firing in the winter, and, above all, a scanty supply of food, released him from his sufferings. When his sickness was gaining upon him he was persuaded to petition the king for a respite of fresh air. Charles answered that the petition 'was not humble enough.' Eliot sent a second petition by his son: 'Sir, I am heartily sorry I have displeased your majesty, and, having so said, do humbly beseech you once again to command your judges to set me at liberty, that when I have recovered my health, I may return back to my prison, there to undergo such punishment as God hath allotted unto me.' The lieutenant of the Tower tried to persuade his prisoner to 'acknowledge his fault' in a third petition, which he himself would willingly deliver, and made no doubt but he should obtain his liberty. But Sir John answered: 'I thank you, sir, for your friendly advice; but my spirits are grown feeble and faint, which when it shall please God to restore unto their former vigour, I will take it further into my consideration.' He expired on the 27th of November, 1632; and his son thereupon petitioned the king that 'he would be pleased to permit his body to be carried into Cornwall, there to be buried. Whereto was answered at the foot of the petition, 'Let Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of *that parish where he died.*' '* And so for the time Charles triumphed over his opponent—the dead body as well as the dying man.

The fate of some of the other popular leaders will be best exemplified by the following (hitherto unpublished) report presented by one of them—Denzil Holles—to the Long Parliament:—

'In obedience of the order of the House, I give you this account of what I have received by their gift, and the occasion of it—first, The House granted me a thousand marks, which I had formerly paid into the Exchequer, for a fine im-

* *Harl. MSS.* 7000 (in Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 119, 122-23).

posed upon me in the King's Bench for my actions (which were, I hope, for the service of the public) in the Parliament of 3 Car. : for which I suffered close imprisonment in the Tower three-quarters of a year ; was thence removed to the King's Bench prison ; prosecuted by the Attorney-General, first in the Star-chamber, then in the King's Bench, where I was fined as aforesaid, adjudged to make an acknowledgment of my offence, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Which, to avoid, I made an escape, and lived a banished man from this city, from my friends, and from my business (in which I suffered exceedingly) for the space of seven or eight years ; and then at last was glad to pay my fine.* I can with confidency say, my imprisonment and my suits cost me 3000*l.*, and that I am 10,000*l.* the worse in my estate on that occasion,' &c.†

The condition of the nation during the years which followed cannot be better portrayed than in the words of a most impartial and able historian of those days, whose work is but too little known :—

'By this time,' observes May, 'all thoughts of ever having a Parliament again were quite banished ; so many oppressions had been set on foot, so many illegal actions done, that the only way to justify the mischiefs already done was to do that one greater, to take away the means which was ordained to redress them, the lawful government of England by Parliaments. Whilst the kingdom was in this condition, the serious and just men of England, who were noways interested in the emolument of these oppressions, could not but entertain sad thoughts and presages of what mischief must needs follow so great an injustice ; that things carried so far on in a wrong way, must needs either enslave themselves and posterity for ever, or require a vindication so sharp and smarting, as that the nation would groan under it. And though the times were jolly for the present, yet having observed the judgment of God upon other secure nations, they could not choose but fear the sequel. Another sort of men, and especially lords and gentlemen, by whom the pressures

* These are entirely new facts in our knowledge of the life of Holles.

† *Tanner MSS.* (Bodleian), vol. lix. pt. 2, p. 507.

of the government were not much felt, who enjoyed their own plentiful fortunes with little or insensible detriment, looking no farther than their present safety and prosperity, and the yet undisturbed peace of the nation, whilst other kingdoms were embroiled in calamities, and Germany sadly wasted by a sharp war, did nothing but applaud the happiness of England, and called those ingrateful and factious spirits who complained of the breach of laws and liberties. That the kingdom abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kind of elegancies more than ever. That it was for the honour of a people that the monarch should live splendidly, and not be curbed at all in his prerogative, which would bring him into the greater esteem with other princes, and more enable him to prevail in treaties. That what they suffered by monopolies was insensible, and not grievous, if compared with other states. That the Duke of Tuscany sate heavier upon his people in that very kind. That the French king had made himself an absolute lord, and quite depressed the power of Parliaments, which had been there as great as in any kingdom; and yet, that France flourished, and the gentry lived well. That the Austrian princes, especially in Spain, laid heavy burdens upon their subjects. Thus did many of the English gentry, by way of comparison, in ordinary discourse, plead for their own servitude. The courtiers would begin to dispute against Parliaments in their ordinary discourse. That they were cruel to those whom the king favoured, and too injurious to his prerogative. That the late Parliament stood upon too high terms with the king, and that they hoped the king should never need any more Parliaments. Some of the greatest statesmen and privy-councillors would ordinarily laugh at the ancient language of England, when the word liberty of the subject was named. But these gentlemen, who seemed so forward in taking up their own yoke, were but a small part of the nation (though a number considerable enough to make a reformation hard) compared with those gentlemen who were sensible of their birthrights and the true interest of the kingdom; on which side the common people in the generality and country freeholders stood, who would naturally argue of their own rights

and those oppressions that were laid upon them. But the sins of the English nation were too great to let them hope for an easy or speedy redress of such grievances; and the manners of the people so much corrupted, as by degrees they became of that temper which the historian speaks of his Romans, *ut nec mala, nec remedia ferre possent*. They could neither suffer those pressures patiently, nor quietly endure the cure of them. Prophaneness too much abounded everywhere, and which is most strange (?), where there was no religion, yet there was superstition. Luxury in diet, and excess both in meat and drink, was crept into the kingdom in a high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity; and in abuse of those good creatures which God had bestowed upon this plentiful land, they mixed the vices of different nations, catching at everything that was new and foreign. As much pride and excess was in apparel, almost among all degrees of people, in new-fangled and various-fashioned attire. They not only imitated, but excelled their foreign patterns, and in fantastical gestures and behaviour the petulancy of most nations in Europe. '*Et laxi crines, et tot nova nomina vestis*.—Petr. Loose hair, and many new-found names of clothes.' The serious men groaned for a Parliament, but the great statesmen plied it the harder to complete that work they had begun, of setting up prerogative above all laws. The Lord Wentworth, May continues, 'was then labouring to oppress Ireland, of which he was deputy, and to begin that work in a conquered kingdom, which was intended to be afterwards wrought by degrees in England. And indeed he had gone very far and prosperously in those ways of tyranny, though very much to the endangering and setting back of that newly-established kingdom.' After describing Wentworth's character, the historian continues, 'To this man, in my opinion, that character which Lucan bestows upon the Roman Curio, in some sort may suit:—

'A man of abler parts Rome never bore,
Nor one to whom (whilst right) the laws owed more.
Our State itself then suffered, when the tide
Of avarice, ambition, factious pride,
To turn his wavering mind quite cross began;
Of such high moment was one changed man.'

The court of England,' he goes on to say, 'during this long vacancy of Parliaments, enjoyed itself in as much pleasure and splendour as ever any court did. The revels, triumphs, and princely pastimes were for those many years kept up at so great a height, that any stranger which travelled into England would verily believe a kingdom that looked so cheerfully in the face, could not be sick in any part. The queen was fruitful, and now grown of such an age as might seem to give her privilege of a further society with the king than bed and board, and make her a partner of his affairs and business, which his extreme affection did more encourage her to challenge. That conjugal love, as an extraordinary virtue of a king, in midst of so many temptations, the people did admire and honour. But the queen's power did by degrees give privilege to Papists, and among them the most witty and Jesuited, to converse, under the name of civility and courtship, not only with inferior courtiers, but the king himself, and to sow their seed in what ground they thought best. And, by degrees, as in compliment to the queen, nuntios from the Pope were received in the court of England, Panzani, Con, and Rosetti; the king himself maintaining in discourse that he saw no reason why he might not receive an ambassador from the Pope, being a temporal prince. But those nuntios were not entertained with public ceremony, so that the people in general took no great notice of them; *and the courtiers were confident of the king's religion by his due frequenting prayers and sermons.* The clergy, whose dependence was merely upon the king, were wholly taken up in admiration 'of his happy government, *which they never concealed from himself* as often as the pulpit gave them access to his ear; and not only there, but at all meetings, they discoursed with joy upon that theme, affirming confidently that no prince in Europe was so great a friend to the church as King Charles; that religion flourished nowhere but in England; and no reformed church retained the force and dignity of a church but that. Many of them used to deliver their opinion that God had therefore punished so severely the Palatinate because their sacrilege had been so great in taking away the endowments of bishopricks. Queen Eliza-

beth herself, "who had reformed religion, was but coldly praised, and all her virtues forgotten, when they remembered how she cut short the bishoprick of Ely. Henry VIII. was much condemned by them for seizing upon the abbeyes, and taking so much out of the several bishopricks as he did in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. To maintain, therefore, that splendour of a church which so much pleased them, was become their highest endeavour; especially after they had gotten, in the year 1633, an archbishop after their own heart, Doctor Laud, who had before, for divers years, ruled the clergy, in the secession of Archbishop Abbot (a man of better temper and discretion, which discretion or virtue to conceal, would be an injury to that archbishop. He was a man who wholly followed the true interests of England, and that of the reformed churches in Europe, so far as that in his time the clergy was not much envied here in England, nor the government of episcopacy much disfavoured by Protestants beyond the seas). Not only the pomp of ceremonies were daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the church; but, in point of doctrine, many fair approaches made towards Rome. And as their friendship to Rome increased, so did their scorn to the reformed churches beyond the seas; when, instead of lending that relief and succour to them which God had enabled this rich island to do, they failed in their greatest extremities, and instead of harbours, became rocks to split them. Archbishop Laud,* who was now grown into great favour with the king, made use of it especially to advance the pomp and temporal honour of the clergy, procuring the lord treasurer's place for Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, and endeavouring, as the general report went, to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of that coat; insomuch as the people merrily, when they saw that treasurer with the other bishops riding to Westminster,

* In another passage May says of Laud, that he was 'a man vigilant enough; of an active, or rather of a restless mind; more ambitious to undertake than politic to carry on; of a disposition too fierce and cruel for his coat; which, notwithstanding, he was so far from concealing in a subtle way, that he increased the envy of it by insolence. He had few vulgar or private vices, as being neither taxed of covetousness, intemperance, or incontinence; and, in a word, a man not altogether so bad, as unfit for the state of England.'

called it the Church Triumphant! Doctors and parsons of parishes were made everywhere justices of peace, to the great grievance of the country in civil affairs, and depriving them of their spiritual edification. The archbishop, by the same means which he used to preserve his clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy; and as the wisest could then prophesy, to a more than probability of losing all. As we read of some men, who being foredoomed by an oracle to a bad fortune, have run into it by the same means they used to prevent it, the like unhappy course did the clergy then take to depress Puritanism, which was *to set up irreligion itself against it*; the worst weapon which they could have chosen to beat it down, which appeared especially in point of keeping the Lord's day; when not only books were written to shake the morality of it, as that of *Sunday no Sabbath*, but sports and pastimes of jollity and lightness permitted to the country people upon that day by public authority, and the warrant commanded to be read in churches.' Then follows a passage already quoted in the remarks on 'Puritanism.*' 'The countenancing of looseness and irreligion,' he continues, 'was, no doubt, a good preparative to the introducing of another religion; and the power of godliness being beaten down, popery might more easily, by degrees, enter: *men quickly leave that of which they never took fast hold*. And though it were questionable whether the bishops and great clergy of England aimed at popery, it is too apparent such was the design of Romish agents; and the English clergy, if they did not their own work, did theirs. A stranger of that religion, a Venetian gentleman, out of his own observations in England, will tell you how far they were going in this kind. His words are: 'The universities, bishops, and divines of England do daily embrace Catholic opinions, though they profess it not with open mouth, for fear of the Puritans. For example—they hold that the church of Rome is a true church; that the Pope is superior to all bishops; that to him it appertains to call general councils; that it is lawful to pray for souls departed; that altars ought to be erected; *in sum they be-*

lieve all that is taught by the church, but not by the court of Rome.' The Archbishop of Canterbury was much against the court of Rome, though not against that church in so high a kind. For the doctrine of the Roman church was no enemy to the pomp of prelacy; but the doctrine of the court of Rome would have swallowed up all under the Pope's supremacy, and have made all greatness dependent upon him; which the archbishop conceived would derogate too much from the king in temporals (and therefore hardly to be accepted by the court), as it would from himself in spirituals, and make his metropolitan power subordinate, which he desired to hold absolute and independent within the realm of England. In this condition stood the kingdom of England about the year 1636, when the first coal was blown, which kindled since into so great a combustion as to deface, and almost ruin, three flourishing kingdoms.*

The movement, it is well known, came from Scotland, and originated in the ill-advised attempt of Charles, at the instigation of Laud, to force the system of Anglican church government and ritual on the Scotch Presbyterians. The popular tumults, the adhesion of the middle and upper classes to the national cause, the revival and general signing of the national covenant, the subsequent threats, double dealing, and eventual armed interference of Charles, have been often described. The ill-success of the king, and the general ill-feeling in England to a contest on behalf of Laud's system, led to a pacification with the Scots, on the 18th of June, 1639. But Charles soon afterwards disavowed the interpretation which they put upon this agreement, and ordered the paper containing it to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. He then summoned Wentworth from Ireland, where, by wonderful personal exertions, and unshrinking, arbitrary measures, he had succeeded in establishing an undisputed absolutism, and reducing all parties to silence if not to submission. He had previously solicited the king for an advance in the peerage, not from mere vulgar ambition, but as a mark of royal confidence at an important conjuncture of the king's

* *History of the Long Parliament.*

affairs. But Charles, actuated by the motives I have already alluded to, and influenced by the queen and her favourites, who hated and feared Wentworth, and spread rumours of his madness, at that time refused the honour in a sarcastic manner, which was tantamount to a gross insult; and Wentworth emphatically declared to a friend that he would never solicit a royal favour again. Now, however, in this time of the king's peril and need, he was, without again soliciting Charles, created Earl of Strafford and Baron of Raby, adorned with the Garter, and invested with the title of Lord-lieutenant, or Lieutenant-general of Ireland; a title which had not been given since the days of Essex. A cabinet council, consisting of Wentworth, Laud, and Hamilton, was instantly formed, and at it Wentworth declared for war against the Scots. He then proposed a loan, subscribed to it himself 20,000*l.*, and promised a large subsidy from Ireland if the king would call a Parliament there. This was resolved upon; and then the council advised Charles to try the same experiment in England; 'that, making trial once more of the ancient and ordinary way, he would leave his people without excuse if that should fail; and have wherewithal to justify himself to God and the world, if he should be forced, contrary to his inclinations, to use extraordinary means, rather than through the peevishness of some factious spirits to suffer his state and government to be lost.' The king thereupon called on Laud, Juxon, Wentworth, Hamilton, Cottington, Sir Henry Vane, and Secretary Windebanke, who were present on the occasion, to promise that they would, upon the restiveness of Parliament, assist him 'by extraordinary ways.' They passed a vote to that effect, and, encouraged by their assurance, at length, Charles resolved to call a Parliament in England, to begin on the 13th day of April following. 'The people seemed to wonder at so great a novelty as the name of Parliament; but feared some further design, because it was so long deferred, whilst in the meantime preparations for a war against Scotland seemed to go forward.*' The Lord-lieutenant was first to go over and summon the Parliament in Ireland.

* May.

‘On his way the earl was overtaken at Beaumaris by a severe fit of gout; yet still able to move, he hurried on board, notwithstanding the contrary winds, lest he should be thrown down utterly. He wrote at the same time to Secretary Coke, to assure him and his master that they need not fear for his weakness, ‘for I will make strange shift, and put myself to all the pain I shall be able to endure, before I be anywhere awanting to my master or his affairs in this conjuncture, and, therefore, sound or lame, you shall have me with you before the beginning of the Parliament. I should not fail, *THOUGH SIR JOHN ELIOT WERE LIVING!* In the mean space, *for the love of Christ, call upon and hasten the business now in hand, especially the raising of the horse and all together, the rather, for that this work now before us, should it miscarry, we are all like to be very miserable; but, carried through advisedly and gallantly, shall by God’s blessing set us in safety and peace for our lives at after, nay, in probability, the generations that are to succeed us.* ‘*Fi a faute de courage, je n’en aye que trop!*’ What might I be with my legs, that am so brave without the use of them? Well, halt, blind, or lame, I will be found true to the person of my gracious master, to the service of his crown and my friends.’* In March, 1640, Strafford arrived in Ireland, assembled the Parliament, received four subsidies and an adulatory address couched in language as servile as insincere, and forwarded it to England with a request that it might be published. He had married a third time; and this wife, a person of inferior quality to either of his former, and whom he did not for some time acknowledge as such, was with him in Ireland. His daughters he had sent over to England to the care of their grandmother, the Countess of Clare; and amidst all this activity of mind and intense application to business, we find that their interests and his domestic concerns generally occupied a share of his attention. After a fortnight’s stay in Ireland, he set sail for England once more, having levied a body of 8,000 men to act as a reinforcement to the royal army. May tells us that people wished that the English Parliament might have

* Forster’s *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 367-8.

begun before the Scotch business had proceeded too far, for in that country affairs had arrived at a new crisis. On the 18th of September the Earl of Traquair broke up the Parliament which had been called in that kingdom, and prorogued it to the 2nd day of June in the following year. The Scots complained of this, as against their privileges; and Traquair hastened to England, whither he was followed by four commissioners from the Scotch Parliament, the Earls of Dunfermline and Loudon, and the Lords Douglas and Barclay. They were instructed to complain of various infringements of the late treaty, and to give every information to the English nation of the reasons of their conduct. They were arrested by the king's orders, and committed to prison, on a charge of high treason, for having addressed a letter to the French king with the superscription '*Au Roi.*' They denied the authenticity of this address, and declared that this copy of the letter was not sent, and that their only intention in writing to Louis was to remove any erroneous impressions as to their proceedings. They added that it was written before the pacification, and not only was covered by the act of oblivion, but was justifiable during a state of warfare. For a renewal of such a state both parties were now preparing, when the election writs for the fourth Parliament of Charles went forth to the shires and boroughs of England and Wales. Such was the result of the eleven years of simple regal government.

The 'Short Parliament,' as it was appropriately called, of April, 1640, lasted only long enough to show that there was an irreconcilable difference between Charles and his people on the point of the priority of redress of grievances or supplies. The conduct of the popular party in this Parliament was studiously moderate; and the failure of this policy was held by most of those who were entitled to the character of far-sighted men, as a clear demonstration that nothing but the most determined and uncompromising conduct would avail in future to secure the Constitution against the royal power. On the morning of May the 5th Charles came down to the Lords, and, in tolerably courteous language, dissolved the Parliament. Immediately afterwards the papers of several

of the popular leaders were seized ; Sir John Hotham and Mr. Bellasis were committed for refusing to disclose to the council what had passed in Parliament ; and Mr. Crewe, the chairman of the Committee for Religion, was thrown into the Tower 'for refusing to surrender certain parliamentary petitions which had been entrusted to him, when their disclosure would have abandoned many clerical petitioners to the vengeance of their metropolitans. A declaration of the causes of the dissolution was also issued by the king, which charged Pym and his friends with audaciously and violently 'entering into examination and censuring of the present government—as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions, and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in Parliament.'"

The Scots, despairing of the success of negotiations, no sooner heard of the dissolution of the English Parliament, than they resolved to enter England and bring the question to the decision of the sword. The king, alarmed, was reduced to all manner of expedients to raise money for the support of troops, and to oppose the advancing Covenanters. He solicited loans from the citizens, who generally refused ; he talked of debasing the coinage, but gave way to the remonstrances of the merchants. Finally, he contrived to raise a certain amount of money by the contributions of the clergy and the Roman-catholics. Generally speaking, the English gentry either refused or evaded any loans to the maintenance of so unpopular a war. The Earl of Northumberland had been appointed commander-in-chief, but he contrived to be seized with illness ; and Strafford, who had scarcely recovered from a real one, was appointed as his lieutenant-general, and hastened to join the army. He found it near Durham, in a state of complete disorganization. The march northwards had been one scene of mutiny and confusion ; the men were nearly all disaffected to the war, and suspected their officers of popery, so that the Scots found an easy victory at Newburn-on-Tyne, the English foot flying at once, and the horse being overpowered by numbers. Newcastle, and the principal places in the north, fell into the hands of the Covenanters, who, issuing friendly proclama-

tions to their brother Puritans, advanced to Durham; while Strafford, who—soured by illness, and misconduct over which he had no control—had only increased the ill-feeling of his men, fell back in disorder upon York. Intrigues of every sort, under the patronage of the queen, added to his distress. In the midst of his efforts to reorganize the army he learnt that negotiations with the Scots had commenced. These were placed in the hands of sixteen peers of the popular party, the Scots refusing to hold any conferences at York, because it was in his jurisdiction whom they called the ‘chief incendiary’—‘their mortal foe.’ Meanwhile the king had summoned a ‘council of peers’ at York, to consult on the affairs of the nation; and the popular leaders seized the opportunity to send petitions from various parts of England (one from London especially, with 10,000 signatures, delivered through Pym), praying for another Parliament. Strafford had just succeeded in defeating a body of the Scots by a sudden attack on their quarters, when news reached him that the king had yielded to the advice of those around him, and summoned a Parliament to meet on the 3rd of November. He begged at once to be allowed to retire to his government of Ireland. But Charles refused, pledging himself that ‘while there was a king in England not a hair of Strafford’s head should be touched by the Parliament.’

The negotiations at Ripon between the Scotch commissioners (including Loudon, who with his fellow-deputies had been released from prison) and the peers who were of Puritan tendencies, proceeded satisfactorily; but during their continuance a circumstance was revealed which has become celebrated in history under the name of ‘Lord Savile’s forged letter,’ and of which we have the following new account in a MS. in the British Museum,* which is attributed (on whose authority I know not) to Lucius Carey, afterwards more celebrated as Lord Falkland. ‘When the commissioners were come to Ripon,’ says the writer of this MS., ‘all due ceremonies and civilities were performed, each to other, which ended the first day’s meeting. And here give me leave to make a necessary

* *Additional MSS.* British Museum, No. 15,567, pp. 7-8.

digression, for the vindication of those lords whom the Lord Savile had made parties to the design of bringing in the Scotch army. When the Scotch commissioners had passed the ceremonies and general civilities, at the first meeting with the English commissioners, the Lord Loudon and Sir Archibald Johnstone applied themselves particularly to the Lord Mandeville, desiring him to give them a private meeting, that they might impart to him something of near concernment to himself and others of the lords then present. This was readily granted; and they three went immediately to the Lord Mandeville's lodgings, where, being set together, the Lord Loudon began with very severe expostulations, charging the Earls of Bedford, Essex, and Warwick, the Lord Viscount Saye and Sele, the Lord Brooke, Savile, and himself with the highest breach of their promised engagements, professing that they had never invaded England but upon confidence of their keeping faith with them, according to those articles which they had signed and sent unto them. When this narrative was made by the Lord Loudon, and confirmed by Sir Archibald Johnstone, the Lord Mandeville stood amazed, and protested with clear and solemn asseverations, that he was a stranger and altogether ignorant of any such designs, articles, or engagements, and he was very confident that he might affirm the like in the behalf of the rest of those lords whom they thus charged with breach of promise. But this denial was noways satisfactory unto them, but was taken as a disingenuous denial, and the Lord Loudon urged it as an act of great ingratitude towards them, who had hazarded all that was dear unto them, upon the pressing persuasions and solemn engagements of those lords. And they told the Lord Mandeville that the Lord Savile had first treated with the Lord Loudon, when he was prisoner in the Tower, in the names of a considerable part of the nobility and gentry of England; and that after he was released, and had been some few weeks in Scotland, the Lord Savile sent the articles of agreement subscribed by these lords into Scotland by Mr. Henry Darley, and they did not doubt but the Lord Savile would avow all this to be true. The Lord Mandeville willingly accepted the Lord Savile's testimony

of the truth of these assertions, and desired that they might meet the next day with the Lord Savile; but that, in the interim, he might not know what had now passed between them; which they promised, and the next day they all met: and when the Lord Loudon made his narrative, and urged his former charge, in the presence of the Lord Savile, he, with a surprised countenance and other expressions of guilt, confessed the truth, acknowledging that he had never acquainted any of those lords with the least particular of the design or of the articles of engagement, and that he had counterfeited their hands in subscribing their names to the declaration and engagement which was sent into Scotland. Some apologies he did offer, as that he found the backwardness of the Covenanters to be such, that they would not hazard a coming into England until they had a full engagement from persons of greater interest in England than himself; he began to consider what persons of honour were in greater esteem with the Covenanters, and his thoughts were fixed on these lords; yet, knowing it impossible to gain them to consent with him in so traitorous a design, he found it necessary to act in a way of falsehood, rather than lose the advantage of so hopeful a design. He further added, that since, by the Providence of God, the success of their enterprise had been so far above their expectations, though few but himself knew of the design at first, yet that he did believe now that the best part of England did hope to find a happy opportunity for the redress of the public grievances of both kingdoms by the coming of the army into England. Therefore he desired them to silence all discourses tending either to the dislike or discovery of the treachery or falsehood of his design, and that they would act vigorously and unanimously in order to the advantage of both kingdoms. This was owned by the Lord Loudon and Sir Archibald Johnstone to be a just and a full clearing of the honour and honesty of those lords whose names had been subscribed; but it made in them a deep impression of the Lord Savile's falseness and impudence, which showed itself at that time by some sharp reprehensions; yet, in such a conjuncture of their affairs and ours, they thought it not prudent to show so great dissatisfaction

as might give to the Lord Savile a total rejection ; therefore they concluded their conference with this assurance to the Lord Mandeville, that they would give a true account of the carriage of this business to the committees of Parliament then residing at Newcastle, that so those lords might be righted in their honour and faith which had received a blemish by the boldness and treachery of the Lord Savile.* The Lord Mandeville then made these requests unto them, first, that he might acquaint some of the lords who were equally concerned, and that the declaration and engagement under their feigned names might be delivered to them. The first was granted and the second was promised ; and after a few days they received the engagement from Newcastle, and did, in the presence of the Lord Mandeville, cut out all the names and burn them ; but they would not deliver the declaration and engagement itself.'

* The 'Lord Savile' who introduces himself to us in so dishonourable a character, was the son of Sir John Savile, a *quondam* courtier, and the great rival of Wentworth in the north of England. As long as Wentworth was in opposition to the court, the Saviles were fervently loyal ; but on his rapid rise in the king's favour, *their* zeal cooled proportionably to the neglect with which they were thenceforward treated by the council. Lord Savile was now playing the game of a patriot. In the subsequent history of the Rebellion he frequently appears on the scene, on one side or the other, but always discreditably, and generally as a reckless and treacherous intriguer, and a shameless liar. The word 'infamous' is the only epithet which justly expresses the reputation which he achieved.

IV.

EARLY LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

OLIVER CROMWELL was the great-grandson of Richard Cromwell, *alias* Williams, who is said to have been a native of Glamorganshire;* and in letters to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, styles himself his 'most bounden nephew.'† Whatever the exact relationship may have been, it is an ascertained fact that this Richard Cromwell was the active co-operator of the earl in reducing refractory churchmen to obedience, and obtained a share in the king's

* The father of this Richard Cromwell is said, though on indifferent authority, to have been one Morgan-ap-Williams, who possessed a small estate at Newchurch, in Glamorganshire, and was a gentleman of the privy chamber to Henry VII. For many generations the family used interchangeably the names of Cromwell and Williams, and Oliver himself, when young, used the name of Williams as well as Cromwell. The latter name was probably adopted by royal permission, to mark their connexion with the Earl of Essex; as after the Restoration it was, by a similar permission, dropped by a part of the family, in order to avoid the obloquy then attendant on the name.—See Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. iv. fol. 56, pp. 37-8 (quoted in Carlyle's *Letters, &c., of Cromwell*, second edition, vol. i. p. 43).

† *Cott. MSS.* Cleop. E iv. p. 2046 (printed in Carlyle, vol. i. pp. 40-1, and Noble's *House of Cromwell*). Mr. Carlyle observes: '*Nephew*, it has been suggested, did not mean, in Henry VIII.'s time, so strictly as it now does, brother or sister's son; it meant *nepos* rather, or kinsman of a younger generation.'—(Vol. i. p. 42.) This vague use of the word seems rather confirmed by a letter from one Thomas Bedyll, one of King Henry's commissioners, probably addressed to Thomas Cromwell, in which he says, 'your *cousin* Mr. Richard was here on Thursday' (the letter is dated from Ramsey, January 15), 'by whom I sent letters unto you, which I think ye have not yet received.'—(*Cott. MSS.* Brit. Mus. Cleop. E iv.) It appears that the wife of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was Jane, the daughter and heiress of Sir John Prior, knight, and that the first husband of the countess was one Thomas *Williams*. It has been usually asserted (though on no particular authority) that Morgan-ap-Williams married a sister of the Earl of Essex, and was by her the father of Richard Cromwell; but it is not easier to suppose that Richard Cromwell was the son of a brother (whether Morgan or another) of this Thomas Williams, and that the Countess of Essex having been before her second marriage called his *aunt*, he was styled by the earl, naturally enough, his 'nephew;' and by others vaguely his 'cousin'?

favour which survived the fall of his great kinsman. Among many grants of church lands which flowed in rapidly upon the fortunate 'nephew,' two must be especially noticed, as they were for many years the residences of the heads of this branch of the Cromwell family, and well known to Oliver Cromwell. On the 8th day of March, 1538, the king bestowed upon Richard Cromwell the nunnery or priory of Hinchinbrook, near Huntingdon, a convent of the Benedictine order, possessing small revenues, but several manors in the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Bedford, Rutland, and Northampton. Two years afterwards, in the March of 1540, there was added to these lands, partly by grant, partly by an easy purchase,* the site of the rich Benedictine abbey of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, with several of its valuable manors. In the same year fresh honours awaited the earl's kinsman. On May-day, in celebration of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, 'there was' (as Stow informs us) 'a great triumph of jousting at Westminster, which jousts had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers that would against the challengers of England.' Of these Richard Cromwell was appointed one, and on the second day of the tournament he received the honour of knighthood from the king. The next day the challengers tourneyed on horseback with swords, and Sir Richard 'overthrew Mr. Palmer in the field off his horse, to the great honour of the challengers. On the 5th of May the challengers fought on foot at the barriers; and against them came thirty defendants, which fought valiantly; but Sir Richard overthrew that day at the barriers Mr. Culpeper in the field.' 'Hereupon,' Fuller tells us, 'there goeth a tradition in the family that King Henry, highly pleased with his prowess, 'Formerly,' said he, 'thou wast my Dick, but hereafter shalt be my diamond!' and thereat let fall his diamond ring unto him. In avowance whereof, these Cromwells have, ever since, given for

* He is said to have paid the sum of 4963*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* The annual revenue of Ramsey was estimated at 1987*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*; but this includes *all* the manors. — (Noble, vol. i. p. 14, &c.) See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, from which I have derived this and the subsequent dates of grants.

† *Survey of London* (p. 494), quoted in Forster's *Statesmen*, vol. iv. pp. 3-4.

their crest a lion holding a diamond ring in his fore-paw.* Sir Richard and the five other challengers had also more substantial rewards of their valour, in the gift of a hundred marks annually, with a house to live in, to them and their heirs for ever, granted out of the revenues of the monastery of the Friars of St. Francis in Stamford. In the July of this year the Earl of Essex suffered death on the scaffold; and though the king continued his favour to Sir Richard, the latter had spirit and honesty enough to show to Henry in what light he regarded the death of his great kinsman; for, as the tradition runs, he appeared in deep mourning in the midst of the brilliant circle on a court day. The daring character of this proceeding can only be estimated from a knowledge of the fact that the king detested the sight of black, or of anything that reminded him of death, and 'oft-times would not only dispense with all *doole*, but would be ready to pluck the black apparel from such men's backs as presumed to wear it in his presence.† In this instance, however, Henry respected the spirit which dictated Sir Richard's conduct, and honours still increased fast upon him. He was made sheriff of the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon; appointed one of the gentlemen of the privy-chamber; served in France in 1543, as general of the infantry; was made constable of Berkeley Castle, steward of the lordship of Urchenfeld, and constable of the castle of Goderich in the March of Wales. Space fails us in enumerating all his grants and honours;‡ but enough has been told

* Fuller's *Church History* (1655), book vi. §§ 11 and 12, p. 370.

† *MS. Journal of the Privy Council of Edward VI.*, Warton's Collection, (given by Miss Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iv. p. 320).

‡ Noble's *Protectoral House of Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 14-17. Besides the estates mentioned above, the principal grants to Sir Richard were, in 1538, Saltrey-Judith, Cistercian abbey, Hunts (estimated at 141*l.* per annum): on May 29, 1542, the site of the priory of Black Canons, close to Huntingdon, dedicated to St. Mary, and called the Austin Canons of Huntingdon; the priory originally stood in the town, but had been removed out of it eastwards; its net receipts were estimated at above 187*l.* per annum: at the same time the site of the monastery of St. Neot's, in the same county (Dugdale's *Monasticon*), with lands in various other places. By his will (dated June 25, 1545) Sir Richard left to his younger son, Francis, estates in Glamorganshire, part of which had probably descended to him from his father, and part had been given to him by the king. By this will (which was proved November 28, 1546), in which he styles

to present a curious picture of the sudden rise of a royal favourite, and the establishment of a great family. Sir Richard died in 1546, and his eldest son and successor, Henry Cromwell, continued to mount the ladder of fortune. In 1563 Elizabeth created him a knight, and on the 18th of August in the following year, on her return from the University of Cambridge, she slept at Hinchinbrook, where Sir Henry had erected a house on the site of the nunnery. He sat in the House of Commons, in 1563, as one of the knights of the shire for Huntingdon, and was four times appointed sheriff of the county. His summer residence was at Ramsey, the manor house of which he either built or repaired; and in the winter he removed to Hinchinbrook. From his liberality he gained the name of the Golden Knight; and the report at Ramsey was, that whenever he came from Hinchinbrook to that place he threw considerable sums of money to the poor townsmen. This was the beginning of a prodigality which in the end dissipated the splendid fortune of Sir Richard. But it required two generations to accomplish this effectually, and before that time the name of Cromwell had been revived with far greater lustre, though in a manner widely different. Two Olivers were the agents in these changes. The one, the eldest son of the Golden Knight, had been himself knighted by Elizabeth, in the year 1598, in the lifetime of his father,* and eventually succeeded to the family seats and principal property. The other Oliver, who retrieved the sinking fortunes of the name, and whose early life will now occupy our

himself Sir Richard *Williams*, otherwise called Sir Richard *Cromwell*, knight, &c., he devises to his eldest son, Henry, his estates in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Bedford; and bequeaths him the sum of 500*l.* to purchase him necessary furniture *when he shall come of age*. This shows that Sir Henry succeeded to the estates when young. The following old lines are curious, as showing the characters borne by Ramsey and Saltrey as monastic establishments—

‘Crowland, as courteous as courteous as may bee;
 Thorney, the bane of many a good tree;
 Ramsey the rich, and Peterburgh the proud;
 Saltrey, by the way, that poor abbey, gave more alms than all they.’
 Noble, *ib.* i. 19.

* See Noble's *Cromwell*, my *general* authority for these details.

attention, was the grandson of Sir Henry, and the son of Sir Oliver's next brother, Robert.

Thus, as far as family traditions could have any influence on the mind of our Oliver, the origin of his father's family seemed to point him out as a defender alike of the Reformation and the crown; and during the days of the Tudors these were synonymous terms. Nor was the history of his mother's family less likely to contribute to this result. It is singular enough, that in one of the letters from Sir Richard Cromwell to Cromwell Earl of Essex, to which allusion has been before made, the zealous nephew reports: 'Your lordship, I think, shall shortly perceive *the Prior of Ely* to be of a froward sort, by evident tokens; as, at our coming home, shall be at large related unto you.' This popish Prior of Ely, Robert Steward by name, who boasted of his descent from a common ancestor with the royal house of Scotland, contrary to Sir Richard's anticipations, saw the justice of the arguments which the king's vicar-general placed before him, became the first Protestant dean of Ely, farmed to advantage the tithes of that place, and, though neglecting, as it is said, his own comforts,* looked after the interests of his family, settling his brothers and nephews around him on grants of church lands. Nicholas Steward, the dean's elder brother, resided at Ely, where both he and his son William possessed a considerable landed estate, chiefly on long leases from the dean and chapter. He died in 1558, and was buried in the

* 'Robert, the son of Nicholas Steward, when young, earnestly devoted his mind to study in the University of Cambridge, and afterwards assumed the monastic habit in the priory of Ely. After a time he was thought so highly of by all, that on the death of the prior, by general consent and choice he was elected to fill his place, and became the last prior of that monastery, and the first dean of the cathedral church. He filled these two posts for twenty years each, with great reputation. He was a man of very uncommon life, for he wore and macerated his body with frequent vigils and prayers; altogether despising riches and honours, stinting himself to give in lavish profusion to the poor. He was both mindful and grateful for favours received, and forgetful on the morrow of the injury received the preceding day. In short, you will hardly find his like. He died in the year of grace 1556, when he had nearly completed his 75th year, and was buried in the church of Ely, between two columns, opposite to Lord Bishop Goderich, towards the south.'—(Addl. MSS. Brit. Mus. 15,664.) I have given as close a representation as possible in English of the cramped Latin of the original.

cathedral church.* William Steward was twice married. His first wife was Margery, the daughter of — Fulneby, Esq., of the county of Lincoln; and by her he had three daughters (Anna, Mildred, and Barbara), and several other children who died young. His second wife was Katharine, daughter of Thomas Payne, Esq., of Castlearre, by whom he had a son Thomas, and three daughters who lived to maturity, Katharine, *Elizabeth*, and Helen (besides two, Frances and Winifred, who died early).† Elizabeth Steward, who was born in 1560, married William Lynne, Esq., of Bassingbourne in Cambridgeshire. He died July 27, 1589, and, together with their only child, Katharine, was buried in Ely Cathedral. After a widowhood of about two years, Mrs. Lynne became the wife of Robert Cromwell, and eight years afterwards the mother of Oliver. Her father died in March, 1595, and the family estates were then enjoyed by her brother Thomas, who also resided at Ely, and whose name frequently occurs in its records, since he greatly interested himself in the affairs of the city, and was very popular there. Though married, he had no children, and his sister Elizabeth's son seems to have been regarded by him in the light of his heir. Such are the leading facts in the history of the rise of the two families of Cromwell and Steward.

Oliver's birthplace was the town of Huntingdon; now at least, whatever it may have been in the time of Elizabeth, a quiet, sleepy place, suggestive of anything rather than public turmoils or convulsions of national interest. The river Ouse winds about it in a manner rather perplexing to topographers, and on its left bank, about half a mile above Huntingdon, and therefore westward of the town, 'still stands a stately, pleasant house, among its shady lawns and expanses.'‡ This is Hinchinbrook, once the seat of Sir Henry and Sir Oliver

* *Addl. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 15,664. The volume which contains this is a sketch of the family of Steward by one of the family who died in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and before the birth of Oliver. It contains some curious information not elsewhere to be found, or hitherto known, and is useful in Oliver's case particularly, as will be seen by the next statement, for which I quote its authority.

† *Addl. MSS.* 15,664.

‡ Carlyle.

Cromwell, now that of the Montagues, Earls of Sandwich. 'It is rather kept good and defended against the inroads of time and accident than substantially altered,' and is 'a large, irregular building, partly of stone and partly of brick.' 'On a broken stone cornice, belonging to the small portion which remains of the ancient nunnery, is the date 1437; but the greater part of the present edifice was built by Sir Henry Cromwell. The common room of the nuns is now the kitchen; and there exist about eight or nine of the nuns' cells, which are now used as lodging-rooms by the servants.* The brook Hinchin (from which it takes its name) flows through the grounds, and then crosses the intervening meadows in an easterly direction to Robert Cromwell's house.

We are indebted to Thomas Booker, the almanac astrologer, for the information that Oliver Cromwell was born at three o'clock in the morning of the 25th of April, 1599.† This, if true, will account for the 24th being by some writers erroneously given as his birthday. 'The house inhabited by Robert Cromwell was built of stone, with gothic windows and projecting attics, and must have been one of the most considerable in the borough. It had extensive back premises and a fine garden. Previously to 1810 the chamber in which Oliver was born, and the room under it, remained as they were at the time when that event took place.' But 'the house has been now twice rebuilt.' The parish registers of St. John's‡ leave no doubt, that on the 29th of the same month of April a family group was assembled to witness the admission of the infant Oliver into the pale of the Church of England; and we need no parchment records to assure us that Sir Oliver Cromwell stood as godfather to his brother's child: it may, therefore, be left to the imagination of the reader what wishes and prophecies were then and there uttered as to the resemblance

* Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. vii.

† And see parish registers of St. John's, Huntingdon, in Noble's *Protectoral House of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 92.

‡ The churchyard of St. John's now alone remains, All Saints serving as a church for the two parishes, and containing the parish records of St John's. The latter church is said to have been pulled down in 1652 by a townsman, whose family, as a just judgment, were soon reduced to poverty. Mr. Carlyle erroneously speaks of St. John's church as still standing.

which the infant should or would exhibit in riper years to his jovial uncle.

The position in life occupied by Robert Cromwell at this period has been strangely misrepresented by royalist writers.

His son declared to a Parliament, many of whom must have known personally the truth or falsity of his statement, 'I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity.' The means which he had at his disposal consisted of an estate in and near the town of Huntingdon, composed chiefly of possessions formerly belonging to the Austin Canons; and amounting (with the great tithes of Hartford, a village close to Huntingdon) to about 300*l.* per annum; 'a tolerable fortune in those times; perhaps somewhat like 1000*l.* now.*' To this is to be added his wife's small jointure of 60*l.* a year, which must be estimated in like ratio, to convey an idea of its real value. His residence was one of the most considerable in Huntingdon, and he represented the borough in Parliament from February to April, 1593.† He was placed on the commission of the peace for the county, and at the period of Oliver's birth was one of the two bailiffs of the borough;‡ and this office he continued to hold, it would seem, during the following year.§ Both his own relations and his wife's were of distinction in the eastern counties; and the proximity of his father's princely residence of Hinchinbrook must in itself have given a certain standing in the neighbouring borough to his second son. That the connexion between Robert Cromwell and his family was kept up, the fact (resting on more than conjecture) that Sir Oliver was godfather to his child is sufficient proof. These circumstances tend to throw very considerable doubt on the notorious story that Oliver's father or mother was engaged in the *business* of brewing. This rests mainly on the supposition that their means were insufficient, without this assistance, to support them in a respectable grade of society. This, we have seen, was not the case; and it appears

* Carlyle.

† Browne Willis' *Notitia Parliamentaria*.

‡ Griffith's *Records of Huntingdon*.

§ Noble—(inscription in the church).

a nearly insuperable objection to the story that, to engage in a trade, in the immediate vicinity of the seat of his family, would have been by them considered, in those times, so great a blot on their honour, as to have necessarily caused a rupture with Robert Cromwell, even if he himself had been utterly regardless of the degradation. But, surely, brought up as he had been, such an idea would not easily have entered his mind. The distinction between the man engaged in a business, such as brewing, and the landed gentleman, was then considerable. The story owes its origin merely to lampoons, retailed with the gravity of real history by the scurrilous chroniclers of the Restoration. James Heath, the author of a biography of Oliver which bears the ominous title of *A Scourge*, seems to feel the difficulty as to the inconsistency of this occupation with the birth and standing of Robert Cromwell, for he remarks, 'The brew-house was kept in his father's time, and managed by his mother and his father's servants *without any concernment of his father therein*, the accounts being always given to the mistress, who, after her husband's death, did continue in the same employment and calling of a brewer, and thought it no disparagement to sustain the estate and part of a younger brother, as Mr. Robert Cromwell was, by these lawful means, *however not so reputable as other gains and trades are accounted.*' This bears all the marks of a variation in the story, invented for the mere purpose of evading, though very unsuccessfully, a difficulty which Heath, who lived in those times, and is, therefore, a good witness as to the standard of respectability, evidently laboured under. So Sir William Dugdale mentions that, '*though he was, by the countenance of his elder brother, Sir Oliver, made a justice of the peace in Huntingdonshire, Mr. Robert Cromwell had but a slender estate, much of his support being a brewhouse in Huntingdon, chiefly managed by his wife.*' Dugdale evidently feels the difficulty, and goes *part of the way* with Heath's attempted solution. But would a brewer in those days have been put into the commission of the peace for the *county*? And what, in any case, are we to say to the family pride of the *Stewards*, if '*the mistress*' was the brewer! It may be added, that the daughters of the

alleged poverty-stricken brewer married into families of distinction in the neighbouring counties; a fact also difficult to be accounted for. Roger Coke* tells us, indeed, that his 'father being asked whether he knew the Protector, said, yes, and his father too, when he kept his brewhouse in Huntingdon.' This, however, is rather too *smart* a reply to be considered as a grave authority, and properly belongs to the class of royalist lampoons. The probable foundation for the tale are the following facts, the only ones which are certainly ascertained: 'The brook of Hinchin, running through Robert Cromwell's premises, offered clear convenience for malting or brewing.' It also appears that the house was occupied, before it came into his possession, by a Mr. Philip Clam as a brewery. This alone would give the house the name of the 'brewhouse' in common parlance. 'The essential trade of Robert Cromwell was that of managing those lands of his in the vicinity of Huntingdon;' and nothing is more likely than that he brewed his own beer and that of the labourers on his lands; 'in regard to which, and his wife's assiduous management of the same, one is very willing to believe tradition.' The convenience of the brook, and of the brewing apparatus, may also have induced him to brew for some of his neighbours while brewing for himself; and hence may have arisen, naturally enough, the stories amongst the Royalists of his having been a *brewer by trade*, a thing essentially different. It is no small additional argument against the truth of that form of the story, that Oliver himself, who was above all foolish feelings of pride which could induce him to conceal it, has never on any occasion alluded to his father or himself having been engaged in any business. Without hesitation, then, that version may be rejected as resting on no good evidence, and being irreconcilable with the habits and prejudices of the age.

All the traditions concerning Robert Cromwell's character which have been handed down to us, show that he was not the man to break through the grades established by society. Though a resident in the borough, and taking part in all the

* *Detection, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 57: Lond. 1694.

local business, he is described as 'in his nature of a difficult [reserved] disposition, and great spirit, and one that would have due distances observed towards him from all persons, which begat him reverence from the country people.*' Of the mother of Oliver we have but few traces preserved; but all these prove her to have been a woman of high moral character, and most affectionate and indulgent to her children. To Oliver, in particular, we find her, in every period of life, expressing the most unwavering devotion. 'There is a portrait of her at Hinchinbrook, which, if that were possible, would increase the interest she inspires and the respect she claims. The mouth so small and sweet, yet full and firm as the mouth of a hero, the large melancholy eyes, the light, pretty hair, the expression of quiet affectionateness suffused over the face, which is so modestly enveloped in a white satin hood, the simple beauty of the velvet cardinal she wears, and the richness of the small jewel that clasps it, seem to present before the gazer her living and breathing character.'†

The family of Robert Cromwell at the period of Oliver's birth consisted of three little girls, Joan, Elizabeth, and Katharine, then in their seventh, sixth, and third years respectively. A son, Henry, intervened between the second and third daughters, but he died at an early age, since Oliver himself, in a legal document of the date of October 25, 1610, is styled the eldest son. Five more children were born subsequently to Oliver; Margaret, his next sister, on the 22nd of February, 1601; another sister, Anna, on January 2nd, 1603; and a third, Jane, on the 19th of January, 1606. A boy, Robert, followed in order of birth; but only survived from the 18th of January, 1609, to the April of the same year. The youngest child was also a daughter, Robina; but the date of her birth is unknown.‡ These, then, were the playmates of Oliver's childhood. Besides the home-circle, however, there were several branches of the family with whom the boy would be naturally brought in contact. Brothers of his father lived

* Heath.

† Forster.

‡ She was born, however, before July 18, 1611, as she is referred to in a legal document of that date.

at various places in the county, and several had families around them. Sir Oliver Cromwell, who had been twice married, and had ten children, some older, some younger than Oliver, lived with his father at Hinchinbrook. Henry, the third son of the Golden Knight, also a married man, lived at Upwood, near Ramsey Mere, and sat in the House of Commons during the first Parliament of James.* There is reason to believe that Richard, the next brother, lived at Ramsey, where he died in 1628; but he represented Huntingdon in Parliament, in the 39th year of Elizabeth's reign,† and in 1607 bought some ground in that town.‡ [Sir] Philip, the fourth brother of Robert Cromwell, lived at a place called Biggin House, a mile from Huntingdon; and his children also appear more or less conspicuously in the subsequent history of their country. But it is with the names of the sons of Oliver's aunts that we are most familiar. Elizabeth, the second daughter of Sir Henry, married William Hampden, Esq., of Great Hampden, and became (as has been already said) the mother of the celebrated John Hampden, who was five years the senior of Oliver Cromwell. Mrs. Hampden's eldest sister, Joan, became the wife of Francis Barrington, of Barrington Hall, Hertfordshire, who represented Essex in Parliament during the reigns of three sovereigns, and received a baronetcy on the institution of the order in 1611. Sons of his, and cousins of Oliver, afterwards appeared on the same arena of public life. Sir Henry Cromwell's youngest daughter, Frances, was married to Richard Whalley, Esq., of Kerton, in Nottinghamshire; at one time a man of large possessions, and sheriff for the county, but afterwards, during the boyhood of Oliver, through negligence and extravagance, considerably reduced, and driven to borrow sums of money, among others from his brother-in-law Robert. Frances Cromwell was his second wife, and after her death he again married, but by her alone had he any children. Her two sons, Edward and Henry Whalley, played in their time important parts. A sister of William Hampden had married

* Browne Willis' *Notit. Parl.*

† *Addl. MSS.* 15,665, § 2.

‡ Noble.

into the family of the Wallers, of Beaconsfield, in Buckinghamshire; and her son Edmund* was the celebrated poet. Of the members of Mrs. Robert Cromwell's family we know little. She had, we have seen, sisters; but beyond the names, we possess respecting them no information. Sir Simeon Steward, a descendant of another brother of the Dean of Ely, lived at Stuntney Priory, near that city; and we have faint traces of other Stewards, relations either near or distant of Oliver's mother. Probably most of these would have occasional intercourse with the household at Huntingdon,† and visits from them and visits in return to their several seats must have constituted a considerable portion of the incidents in Oliver's boyhood.

It may be remarked that the position in society occupied by Oliver was singularly favourable to the unconscious formation of broad and unprejudiced views. Belonging at the same time to the landed gentry through his family relations, and to the burgher class by his residence in the borough, he was, fortunately, guarded from the narrow prejudices which spring from a confinement to the sphere of one class in society alone. He passed from the circles which assembled at the various country seats, at which he would be a frequent guest, to the company of the townsmen, who would naturally be visitors at his father's house; for Robert Cromwell's time was occupied not merely with his private and agricultural avocations, but also with public duties, as a prominent person in the local business of the borough. In the discussions at his father's table on the petty concerns of his native borough that intellect received its earliest lessons in the science of

* Edmund Waller was born in the year 1605, and was therefore Oliver's junior by six years. 'Mr. Waller lived mostly at Beaconsfield, where his mother dwelt in her widowhood.' Waller's *Life*, prefixed to his *Poems*, Lond. 1722, 12mo, p. 4, where the intimacy between the families of Cromwell and Waller is mentioned.

† Between Sir Philip's family and Robert Cromwell's there was certainly some intimacy. To the entry of his son Robert's birth (June 19, 1613) Sir Philip subjoins the remark, 'My brother Robert Cromwell, godfather; niece Baker, godmother (Oliver's elder and married sister, Joan).—Noble's *Protectoral House of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 357. Mr. Noble, it will be seen, ignores in his text the marriage of Joan Cromwell.

politics, which 'afterwards proved not unequal to sustain the sceptre of three powerful kingdoms.'

The early life of great men resembles in more than one respect the early history of great nations. The obscurity which veils the origin of the one, frequently hangs over the boyhood and youth of the other. While the subsequent deeds and high position of the nation reflect a portion of their splendour on the time when it was feeble and insignificant, a similar process takes place with reference to the individual. In both, the borrowed light is mistaken for an inherent and natural lustre. It seemed impossible to the contemporaries of the Scipios and Cæsars, that there could have been a time when Rome was but a cluster of unimportant villages, the inhabitants of which possessed only the rude virtues and wild vices of uncivilized life. To the writers of the reign of Charles II. of England, it in like manner appeared incredible that the Cromwell, whom they had been accustomed to designate as an intriguer, a rebel, and a hypocrite, could ever have been simple and ingenuous as other children, and loyal with as implicit and unreflecting a consent. Preconceived prejudice has, therefore, in both these cases, become the parent of seeming facts. What must have been, has soon gained a positive existence. Its parentage has been forgotten, and a place claimed for it by the side of undoubted realities. The rights of such have been arrogated to it, and it has been admitted into trains of historical investigation. While thus holding itself up as independent of the prejudices in which it originated, it has never ceased to be their powerful auxiliary. Itself the child of reasonings, it has, in its turn, given rise to or strengthened reasonings. If Rome were so great even in her infancy, none can be deceived in attributing to her innate greatness. If Cromwell were thus in his childhood and youth, how can there be a doubt as to the principles which actuated his subsequent career? Hence the question of the credibility of these early stories assumes psychologically an interesting and (to a certain extent) important aspect.

For the character of Oliver during this period of his life we have the evidence deducible from accounts of his dispo-

sition in later years, and from the vague traditions moulded, and partly, if not wholly, created by the calumnious spirit of restored Royalism. From the first we ascertain that his body was 'well compact and strong,' his stature neither above nor below the average height, 'his head so shaped, as you might see in it a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fiery; but the flame of it kept down for the most part, or soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure, though God had made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but what was due to himself, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he exceed in tenderness towards sufferers.'* Every part of this description is borne out by facts in his life, and proceeding from one who was in attendance on his person, and written as it was, privately to a friend, after the fall of Oliver's family from power, and on the eve of the Restoration, it is entitled to the greatest credit. In many respects there is no saying more true, than that 'the child is father to the man;' and we may with perfect safety deduce from this account of maturer years, that Oliver in his boyhood was passionate, but easily appeased, impetuous, but warm-hearted, fearless, but subject to the controlling influences of a kind and compassionate heart. Such a boy would be easily led by kindness, but would instinctively rebel against any attempt to drive him by stern measures. The first, we are told, he met with from his mother,† and this there is other reason to believe. But it is

* Maidston's letter to Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, March 24, 1660, in Thurloe's *State Papers*, pp. 763-8.

† 'From his infancy to his childhood he was of a cross and peevish disposition, which being humoured by the fondness of his mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outrageous in his juvenile years, and adult and masterless at man's estate.'—(*Flagellum*.) Of course the friendly biographers of Oliver make him as remarkable in his childhood for the opposite qualities to the above, and probably with just as much truth. The author of *The Portraiture of His Royal Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector*, 1659, observes (pp. 7-8) 'In his childhood he discovered many clear glimpses of those growing qualities and endowments which afterwards rendered him so conspicuous in the eyes of all the world; as a quick and lively apprehension, a

not necessary to credit the assertion, that from his father he met with only the latter. This rests on the authority of writers (of the date of the Restoration and later) who endeavour to justify this conduct of Robert Cromwell by narrating the most absurd and irrelevant stories of the child's early depravity. These, the offspring of the folly or evil passions of the narrators, when stripped of the exaggerating language in which they are couched, amount merely to stories of the frolics of any mischievous and audacious boy. That he was an 'apple-dragon,' and afterwards advanced to the higher accomplishment of 'pigeon-stealing,'* was *remembered* and gravely recorded by scurrilous writers in the years following 1660, and possesses just so much claim on our attention as the character of the biographers, the interval of time which had elapsed, and the probability that such events would have made sufficient impression at the time to be remembered after the stirring occurrences of the Revolution, lead us to bestow on it. It is of course likely enough (though it is not rendered more probable by the assertion of such writers) that Oliver's impetuous spirit, aided by a stout frame of body, carried him into many of those boyish adventures from which few children similarly constituted can refrain. But that these escapades were of a character to denote the existence in the boy of a bad disposition, or to be visited by his father with any but the ordinary degree of correction, rests on no evidence worthy of a moment's consideration. I pass over several silly stories,† worthy of just as much attention, to come to one or two alleged occurrences during Oliver's childhood, which, although they have but slight claims on our belief, and are in themselves of not the

piercing and sagacious wit, a solid judgment, (!) and a deep foresight into the probability of future events.' Imagine these qualities gravely attributed to a mere child!

* *Flagellum.*

† There is a story of a curious figure of the devil being represented on the tapestry behind the door of the room in which Oliver was born. (Quoted from Dr. Lort's MSS. in Noble.) This is *said* to rest on the authority of a Non-juror who afterwards inhabited the house. Of course the deduction is plain—the child was born under the shadow of that being to whose purposes his life was devoted.

slightest consequence, are at least free from that evident malignity on the part of the narrator by which the foregoing are tainted. Thus, on the authority of the Rev. Dr. Lort's MSS. (vague authority enough!) we learn that his grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, having sent for him to Hinchinbrook, when an infant in arms, a monkey took him from the cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house. Alarmed at the danger Oliver was in, the family brought beds to catch him upon, fearing the creature's dropping him; but the sagacious animal brought 'the fortune of England' down in safety.* Another story runs, that the boy Oliver was saved from drowning by the curate of Cunnington, a Mr. Johnson, and that, when Oliver called upon his preserver, in later times, on a march at the head of his troops through Huntingdon, and asked him if he recollected the service he had done, the curate answered, 'Yes, I do, but I wish I had put you in, rather than see you here in arms against your king.' This story, though perhaps suspicious in other respects, has at least the merit of suggesting a means by which the memory of it might be preserved to a later period. Among these floating and uncertain traditions, however, we come occasionally on what seems to be an historical fact.

In the town of Huntingdon there had existed, it is said, from the days of Henry II., an institution called the Hospital of St. John the Baptist. Attached to the hospital, and supported from its funds, was a free school, held in the chapel of the institution, and open to an unlimited number of scholars, sons of inhabitants of Huntingdon. Except in similar schools to this, it was impossible, in those days, for persons in the position of Oliver's father to obtain an education for their children. The advowson of the mastership had been, since about the year 1300, in the commonalty of Huntingdon; and it is only consistent with the uniform testimony of all contemporary writers, and in itself most probable, that to this school Oliver was sent. On Saturday,

* Noble, vol. i. p. 92.

the 2nd of April, 1604, we find* that 'Thomas Beard, clerk, bachelor in divinity,' was 'presented by the discreet men and undoubted patrons of the hospital, the bailiffs of the borough for the time being, and canonically and lawfully instituted into and invested with all the rights, members, and appurtenances of master or warden of the same.' That this Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Beard was Oliver's schoolmaster, the date of his appointment seems to render certain. Oliver would then have just completed his fifth year; and in a year or two from that time, we may well suppose that he became a pupil at the free school under this Dr. Beard, who was on intimate terms with the family of Robert Cromwell, and a leading person in the affairs of the borough. Here also, it seems probable, that he had the honour of being the schoolfellow of the future mayor of Huntingdon! According to some accounts, he had previously been under other tuition—either, as Heath says, 'the slighted governance of a mistress,' or, as others will have it, under a certain 'Rev. Mr. Long,' a very mythical personage, unless, indeed, he were the tutor to Sir Oliver's sons.

Dr. Beard, Oliver's new instructor, was a very learned and excellent man, held in the highest estimation by the townsmen of Huntingdon—delivering religious lectures at the parish church of St. John's—writing books full of earnest exhortations against the dissoluteness of the times, and in confutation of the papal Antichrist—and at the same time writing comedies cast in a severely classical mould,† very different from the plays and masques which encountered his bitter reprehension. He has the reputation, whether justly or unjustly, of having been a severe schoolmaster; in fact, an ideal of the old race of flogging Dominies. In proof of this excess of discipline, Mr. Forster refers us to 'the frontispiece to a well-known book of the time, *The*

* *A Collection of Ancient Records relating to the Borough of Huntingdon, &c.*, by Edward Griffiths, F.S.A. (1727), p. 103.

† *Pedantius, Comœdia olim Cantab. acta, in Coll. Trin. nunquam antehac typis evulgata*: Lond. 1631. Grainger's *Biographical History*, vol. ii. p. 196. The portrait of Dr. Beard is prefixed to this comedy.

Theatre of God's Judgments,* which is said to be a portrait of this pain-inflicting pedagogue. It represents him with a rod in his hand, two scholars standing behind, and *as in presenti* issuing from his mouth.' This gives us at least two facts, that Oliver learnt his Latin from the *Eton Grammar*, and was probably during his progress through its thorny paths not without some nearer acquaintance with this celebrated rod, thus handed down to the terror of posterity! At any rate, it afforded some consolation to the Royalists of 1660, that, although Oliver had escaped their oft-attempted vengeance, his sins had been punished by anticipation at the hands of his inflexible schoolmaster. It is amusing to observe the terms in which his idleness and perversity at school are held up to our reprobation. 'Here,' says Heath, 'his book began to persecute him, and learning to commence his great and irreconcilable enemy; for his master, honestly and severely observing that and other his faults (which like weeds sprang out of his rank and uncultivated nature), did by correction hope to better his manners, and with a diligent hand and careful eye to hinder the thick growth of those vices which were so predominant and visible in him. Yet, though herein he trespassed upon the respect and lenity due and usual to children of his birth and quality, he prevailed nothing against his obstinate and perverse inclination, the learning and civility which he had coming upon him like fits of enthusiasm; now a hard student for a week or two, and then a truant or *otioso* for twice as many months—*of no settled constancy*.' Which circumstance is much to be wondered at, considering the mature age to which Oliver had attained! This last statement is, however, a very probable guess, though it is not likely Heath knew whether such were really the case any better than ourselves. A more definite story is told, not only by this writer, but by others also who are more friendly to the character of Oliver. Authorities differ as to the time and place when and where the alleged event occurred. Heath's account, which shall be first given, says: 'Now, to confirm a royal humour the more

* This also proceeded from the pen of Dr. Beard himself.

in his ambitious and vain-glorious brain, it happened (as it was then generally the custom in all great free schools) that a play, called *The Five Senses*, was to be acted by the scholars of this school [Huntingdon], and Oliver Cromwell, as a confident youth, was named to act the part of Tactus, the sense of feeling; in the personation of which, as he came out of the 'tiring-room upon the stage, his head encircled with a chaplet of laurel, he stumbled at a crown, purposely laid there, which, stooping down, he took up, and crowned himself therewithal, adding, *beyond his cue*, some majestic mighty words; *and with this passage the events of his life held good analogy and proportion*, when he changed the laurel of his victories (in the late unnatural war) to all the power, authority, and splendour that can be imagined within the compass of a crown.' Some readers may perhaps think that this passage holds rather *too* good an analogy and proportion to the subsequent events of his life to command much belief. Carington, a favourable biographer, makes the place at which this happened 'the University of Cambridge; where, *as it is reported*, a public representation being to be performed, he that was to represent the king's part falling sick, this our Cromwell *was said* to have taken the part upon himself, and so well employed the little time he had to get it by heart, as it seemed that it was infused into him, and whereby he represented a king with so much grace and majesty, as if that estate had been natural unto him.* In a marginal note he gives the name of the play *Lingua, the Combat of the Senses*. In a MS. book, called Symmond's *Historical Notes*,† which contains many worthless anecdotes, it is told that, 'In the play at *Cambr.*, called *Lingua*, he acted the part of Tactus, and stumbled at a crown, and took it up, and put it on, and 'twas fit, and asked if it did not become him.' I give in a note the part of the play alluded to, by which it will be seen that Oliver had merely to follow his cue in order to pronounce

* *Life and Death of His Most Serene Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector* (dedicated to Richard Cromwell), p. 3.

† *Harl. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 999, p. 22. Winstanley also makes it happen at Cambridge.—*Lives of the English Poets*, p. 114.

these 'majestical mighty words.'* The title-page to the impression of this comedy in 1657, informs us that it was

* TACTUS.—The blushing childhood of the cheerful morn
Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs
Yonder gilt eastern hills, about which time
Gustus most earnestly importuned me
To meet him hereabouts; what cause I know not.

MENDACIO (*behind and aside*).—You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.

TACT.—Sure by the sun, it should be nine o'clock?

MEN.—*What a star-gazer! will you never look down?*

TACT.—Clear is the sun, and blue the firmament.

Methinks the heavens do smile—

[TACTUS sneezeth.

MEN.— At thy mishap,

To look so high, and stumble in a trap!

[TACTUS stumblenth at the robe and crown.

TACT.—*High thoughts have slippery feet; I had well nigh fallen.*

MEN.—Well doth he fall that riseth with a fall.

TACT.—What's this?

MEN.—O! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.

TACT.—How now?

MEN.—You'll be so entangled straight—

TACT.—A crown!

MEN.— that it will be hard—

TACT.—And a robe!

MEN.— to loose yourself.

TACT.—A crown and robe!

MEN.—It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's coat and bauble—
hey! hey!

TACT.—Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?

MEN.—O! Sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears you not—here's one
knows better.

TACT.—'Tis wondrous rich: ha! but sure it is not so: ho!

Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha!

No, I am awake, and feel it now;

Whose should it be?

[He takes it up.

MEN.—Set up a *si quis* for it.

TACT.—Mercury! all's mine own; here's none to cry half's mine.

MEN.—When I am gone.

[Exit.

TACTUS, alone, soliloquizeth.

TACT.—Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend.

Was ever man so fortunate as I?

To break his shins at such a stumbling-block.

Roses and bays pack hence; this crown and robe

My brows and body circles and invests!

How gallantly it fits me! Sure the slave

Measured my head that wrought this coronet.

They lye that say complexions cannot change;

My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd

Unto the sacred temper of a king.

Methinks I hear my noble parasites

Styling me Cæsar, or great Alexander;

first acted at *Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards at this Huntingdon Free School*.^{*} This may either be thought to reconcile the discrepancy of one writer representing Oliver's personation of the character as having taken place at Huntingdon, and others at Cambridge; or it may suggest an origin for the story from so well-known a play, containing such appropriate lines, having been acted at Huntingdon Free School and Cambridge, at both which places it was ascertained that Oliver had been educated. Should we put confidence in the former of these interpretations, the circumstance of Oliver being called on unexpectedly to utter words such as these, would indeed be curious in the extreme.

Heath presents us with another traditional story, which falls within this period of Oliver's life, and of which the following is his version: ' 'Twas at this time of his adolescence that he dreamed, or a familiar rather instructed him and put it into his head, that he should be King of England; for it cannot be conceived, that now there should be any near resemblance of truth in dreams and divinations (besides, the confidence with which he repeated it, and the difficulty to make him forget the arrogant conceit and opiniated pride he had of himself, seem to convince it was some impulse of a spirit), since they had ceased long ago. However the vision came, most certain it is, that his father was exceedingly troubled at it; and having angrily rebuked him for the vanity, idleness, and impudence thereof, and seeing him yet

Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
 This precious ointment. How my pace is mended!
How princely do I speak! how sharp I threaten!
 Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
 And make you tremble when the lion roars.
 Ye earth-bred worms! Oh for a looking-glass!
Poets will write whole volumes of this change.
 Where's my attendants? Come hither, sirrahs, quickly,
 Or by the wings of Hermes, &c.

—Quoted in Forster's *Statesmen*, vol. iv. p. 15.

* Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 252. The title is '*Lingua, or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority*'; a pleasant Comedy, first acted at Trinity College, in Cambridge, after at the Free School at Huntingdon; Lond. 1657, 24mo. (*Biogr. Britan.* art. 'Cromwell'). The first edition appeared in 1607. The author was Anthony Brewer.

persist in the same presumption, caused Dr. Beard to whip him for it, which was done to no more purpose than the rest of his chastisements, his scholar growing insolent and incorrigible from those results and suasions within him to which all other dictates and instructions were useless and as a dead letter.' This seems to have been a current anecdote of those times, for in describing the indecision of Oliver at a later period, whether he should accept the title of king, Lord Clarendon reports, that 'they who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream or apparition, that had first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed, it had only declared, 'that he should be the *greatest man* in England, and should be near to be king;' which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the crown.* Sir Philip Warwick also tells us, 'there went a story of him, that *in the daytime*, lying melancholy in his bed, he believed that a spirit appeared to him, and told him that he should be the greatest man (not mentioning the word *king*) in this kingdom. Which his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, told him was traitorous to relate.† Dr. Bate, a physician of the period, who attended both Charles I. and Oliver, but a writer of little authority, and utterly unscrupulous as to keeping within the limits of truth, gives as his version of the story, that Oliver, 'from his earliest years, exhibited no obscure marks of enthusiasm. For (as I have heard on good authority) the boy afterwards told how there had appeared to him one in human form, who declared that he should be king; of which, when his schoolmaster was informed, by authority of the boy's father, he flogged him.‡ Others give us the additional

* *Rebellion*, pp. 839-40.

† *Memoirs*, pp. 275-7. It has been suggested to me that 'this is well in character with Sir Thomas Steward,' but such a speech might be made by any loyal old gentleman to his presumptuous nephew, and these were the characters which a fabricator would wish to portray.

‡ *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum* (1663), pp. 273-4.

information, that 'the curtains of his bed were slowly withdrawn by a gigantic figure, which bore the aspect of a woman, and which, gazing at him silently for a while,' uttered words similar to the above.

Such are the accounts of this celebrated story which have come down to us; but, even if they contain any particle of truth, what do they amount to, but that, with hundreds of others, the boy Oliver dreamed that he should one day be a very great man! Such readers as are inclined to receive the story of his acting the part of *Tactus*, will perhaps be inclined to place the date of this dream very soon after the scene from *Lingua*, of which it is so exact a counterpart.

But we may be tolerably certain, that at this time Oliver's head was full enough of fancies of kings and great men, for immediately before his first half year at school, there had been grand visitors at Hinchinbrook. In the January of the year 1603, the Golden Knight, Sir Henry Cromwell, died—a loss which Oliver, then a child in his fourth year, would hardly be old enough to feel. On the 24th day of March, in the same year, however, an event took place which could not fail to make some impression on his mind. With great difficulty he would be made to comprehend that their great and glorious queen was dead—princes die so seldom! Oliver's mother would tell him that she, too, was a Steward, and that the wife of the townsman of Huntingdon could with justice address the new King of England by the familiar name of 'cousin.' The boy would gain some very confused ideas on the subject, and would be sadly perplexed between the dignity which he associated in his mind with the position of king, and the notions of 'cousinship' which he had derived from intercourse with his playfellows at Hinchinbrook. But new wonders awaited him. Sir Oliver, second in no loyal feeling to his father, no sooner heard of the intended change of rulers, than, mindful of the old privilege of his house, he despatched an invitation to the new king to honour Hinchinbrook with a visit on his southward progress. The invitation was graciously accepted, and Sir Oliver exhausted invention to find means of giving adequate proof of his enthusiastic devotion to the royal stranger.

Nothing for weeks would be heard of at the Priory but preparations for this great event.* All the Cromwells—uncles, aunts, and cousins, relations distant and near—would be assembled to swell the reception of James, and gain a share in the royal smiles. On the 27th of April the first English Stuart arrived at Hinchinbrook, Lord Southampton carrying before him the sword which the mayor of Huntingdon had offered. Sir Oliver received the king at the gate of the great court, and conducted him up a walk that then immediately led to the principal entrance of the house. Here all the Cromwell family would have grouped themselves, and here Oliver would obtain his first impression of what a king was like. What would he see? A man 'of middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough; his clothes being ever made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof; his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed: he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the greatest reason of his quilted doublets: his eye large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch that many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance; his beard very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup on each side of his mouth; his skin as soft as tafta sarsnet, which felt so because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers' ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin. His legs very weak, having had, as was thought, some foul play in his youth, or rather, before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age, so that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders. His walk circular. His dress as green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side!' What a surprise and disappointment for little Oliver, who must have

* The large bay window of the great room which, according to Noble, was erected by Sir Oliver to grace this occasion, appears, from the date 1602 on the stone-work of the outside, and the royal arms of *Tudor* over it, to have been built previously, in the reign of Elizabeth.—Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. vii. pp. 471*-2*.

been already told of the stately and dignified Elizabeth, with her eagle eye, under which the stoutest hearts quailed. What must Sir Oliver have thought when he contrasted the ridiculous being before him with the great princess upon whom, in his father's life, he had waited on similar occasions, and before whom he had knelt to receive the chivalrous honour of knighthood !

But, whatever his private thoughts, Sir Oliver never for one moment deviated from his strict duties of loyal observance. 'The king,' we are told, 'here met with a more magnificent reception than he had ever done since leaving his paternal kingdom. All strove to please, every one to see, the new sovereign, who was to unite two jarring and valiant kingdoms, and to be the common monarch of both. Sir Oliver gratified this desire to the full. His doors were thrown wide open to receive all that chose to pay their respects to the new king, or even to see him ; and each individual was welcomed with the choicest viands and most costly wines. Even the populace had free access to the cellars during the whole of his majesty's stay. Then there came the heads of the University of Cambridge, in their robes, to congratulate King James upon his accession, in a long Latin oration. The royal guest remained with Sir Oliver until after breakfast on April 29th ; and on leaving Hinchinbrook, was pleased to express the obligation he had received from him and his lady. To the former he said, at parting, as he passed through the court, in his broad Scotch manner, 'Morry mon, thou hast treated me better than any one since I left Edinburgh !'' And indeed Sir Oliver bears the reputation of having given the greatest feast with which a king had ever been entertained by a subject. To carry this out to the fullest extent, 'he presented the king, on his departure, with many gifts of great value ; amongst others, a large elegant wrought standing cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, and divers hawks of excellent wing ; and distributed amongst the royal officers the sum of 50*l*.' 'So many and so great proofs of attachment, and in a manner peculiarly agreeable to the taste of the prince, gained his regard ; which he took an early opportunity of expressing by creating him, with fifty-

nine others, a Knight of the Bath, prior to the coronation. This ceremony was performed on Sunday, the 26th of July; upon which day Sir Oliver, with the other gentlemen designed for that honour, rode in state from St. James' to the court, and so, with their esquires and pages, about the tilt-yard; and from thence to St. James's Park, where, alighting from their horses, and going in a body to the presence-gallery, they received their knighthood from his majesty.* All these splendours and honours at Hinchinbrook and St. James's were seen or heard of by young Oliver in the days of his boyhood. The memory of them would not soon die out in the circles which he frequented; and if we may believe another celebrated tradition, the next year did not pass without his nearer acquaintance with a second member of the Stuart family.

Noble tells it in the following words: 'They have a tradition at Huntingdon that when King Charles I., then Duke of York, in his journey from Scotland to London, in 1604, called in his way at Hinchinbrook, the seat of Sir Oliver Cromwell, that knight, to divert the young prince, sent for his nephew Oliver, that he with his own sons might play with his royal highness. But they had not been long together before Charles and Oliver disagreed; and as the former was then as weakly as the latter was strong, it was no wonder that the royal visitant was worsted; and Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignity, that he made the royal blood flow in copious streams from the prince's nose. *This was looked upon as a bad presage for that king when the civil wars commenced.* (!) I give this only as the report of the place: *this so far is certain*, that Hinchinbrook, as being near Huntingdon, was generally one of the resting-places when any of the royal family were going to or returning from the north of England, or into or from Scotland.' It is not likely that boys so young as the prince and his companions would have been left alone without the presence of attendants, who, we may be well assured, would have prevented any such

* These facts are collected in Forster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv. pp. 312-14.

occurrence from taking place. Still it is not impossible that, in these early years of their lives, the sturdy son of the commoner of Huntingdon was the playmate of the pale, taciturn boy, of feeble frame and imperfect utterance, whose cold, melancholy features still arrest our attention on the matchless canvas of Vandyck. But over any such meetings oblivion has dropped her veil; and it is not by foolish stories like the above that the darkness which surrounds them can be penetrated.

Loyalty would reign paramount in Robert Cromwell's household this same year, 1604; for, among a number of gentlemen on whom James lavishly bestowed the honour of knighthood, we find the name of Thomas Steward of Ely. What stories of the splendours of London and the court would not Sir Thomas, on his return, pour into the eager ear of his favourite nephew? Who can wonder if, with all these royal glories filling his brain, young Oliver, in his father's house at Huntingdon, had day-dreams and night-visions of kings and great men!

It would be vain to attempt a description of the effect which must have been produced on the mind of Oliver, either at once or from the subsequent narration of those around him, by the succession of events which, beginning with the Gunpowder Plot, occupied the attention of the people of England through the wretched reign of James. The birth of a sister in the January of 1606, and the marriage of another sister in the summer of 1611, may be more definitely assigned as events of special interest in the household at Huntingdon. In the register of St. John's parish we find this entry under June 2nd: 'Mrs. Joan Cromwell to Mr. William Baker.'* Noble assigns the death of *this* Joan Cromwell to the year 1600, though in his extracts from the register of deaths, on which he founds his text, the Joan who died then is called distinctly the daughter of Mr. [Sir] Oliver Cromwell.† The marriage of the eldest of the family, and the first marriage in the family, would be an event of no little importance, and a

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxvii. p. 575, and Noble, vol. i. p. 251.

† Noble, vol. i. p. 88, compared with p. 349.

gala day to be remembered for many years afterwards by young Oliver. Add to these occurrences his boyish games and exercises—swimming, riding, shooting at the target—and hours with Dr. Beard in the mazes of *as in præsentia*, and we have all that can be ascertained or guessed at in the years which Oliver spent at the free school of Huntingdon. How long he continued there we have no means of accurately ascertaining. All that we know certainly is, that in the registers of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, we may still read, that ‘on the 23rd day of April, 1616, the fourteenth of James I., Oliver Cromwell, of Huntingdon, was admitted as a fellow-commoner, tutor Mr. Richard Howlet.’* This, it has been remarked by Mr. Carlyle, was the day of the death of William Shakespeare.

There was a reason for the choice of a college made by Oliver’s father. Sidney-Sussex College counted among its benefactors the landed family of Montagu in Huntingdonshire, and members of several branches of that family entered there as students. The families of Montagu and Cromwell must have had frequent intercourse, being the two leading county proprietors, and nothing was more natural than that young Oliver should join the college with which they were connected. On the 27th of January, 1618,† another member of the Montagu family entered Sidney-Sussex. This was Edward Montagu Viscount Mandeville, eldest son of Henry, Earl of Manchester, of Kimbolton Castle. An attempt had been made to secure the services of a tutor at home for the young nobleman; but the rigid divine to whom application was made, refused to accept the post on account of a reluctance to enter ‘so dissolute a family.’ It by no means follows that Lord Mandeville joined in the excesses around him; indeed, we find him from an early period taking the opposite side in politics to his father, who was Lord Privy Seal, and it is not unlikely that the disposition which led to this difference manifested itself also in a superior moral

* April 23, 1616, 14 Jac. I. ‘*Oliverus Cromwell, Huntingdoniensis, admissus ad commensam sociorum, tutore Magistro Ricardo Howlet.*’—Quoted in Ackerman’s *History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 269.

† *Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus.* 7038, p. 355.

character. However this may be, it is not a little curious to reflect that Oliver would be probably thrown at this early period into the society of one who was destined in future years to be his zealous coadjutor and temporary opponent.* But we are not left entirely to conjecture on this point; for we have evidence that the Montagues and this Lord Mandeville in particular were well acquainted and on intimate terms with Mr. Howlet, Oliver's tutor, and that other members of the family were placed under that gentleman's care. Mr. Howlet, who was a bachelor in divinity, and became a Fellow of the college, was afterwards raised to the dignity of Dean of Cashel, and married a relative of Archbishop Laud, at this time Archdeacon of Huntingdon.† From the latter's *History of his Troubles and Trial* we learn that, on the breaking out of the Rebellion in Ireland, the dean was turned by the rebels out of all he had, and forced, for safety of his life, to come with his wife and children into England. Laud tells us he was obliged to relieve them, or otherwise they might have begged. Several livings at this time fell vacant, and after intricate negotiations with the Earl of Warwick and the Marquis of Hertford, concerning the claims of their *protégés*, the archbishop (then in the Tower) resolved to give Lackingdon (a rich living in Essex) to Mr. Howlet, and Bocking to Dr. Gauden (afterwards celebrated in connexion with Εικων βασιλικη), Warwick's *protégé*. But some delay occurring in the former appointment, Laud advised Mr. Howlet to get a certificate in his favour from Dr. Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and to look up all the friends he could, and attend with it at the House of Lords. The business, continues Laud, stuck still; but at last he met with the Lord Kimbolton,‡ who presently made all weather fair for him; and upon his lordship's motion to the House of Lords, an order

* This, however, cannot have been the case if Oliver, as is usually supposed, left Cambridge in June, 1617.

† Laud, in his *Diary*, prefixed to the *History of his Troubles and Trial*, notes that, 'Dr. Neile, the Bishop of Lincoln, gave me the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, December 1, 1615.'

‡ Lord Mandeville had been raised to the peerage in his father's lifetime, by the title of Baron Kimbolton.

passed (April 13, 1642) for Mr. Howlet to have Lackington.* The motive of Kimbolton's interference, the archbishop goes on to observe, was this: the Lord Montagu to whose sons Mr. Howlet had been tutor, was the uncle to Lord Kimbolton; at which time also the Lord Kimbolton himself was a student in the same college, and knew the person and worth of Mr. Howlet. This his lordship honourably now remembered, else it might have gone hard with Mr. Howlet's necessities. So upon the order thus obtained, he concludes, I collated Lackington upon him.†

The Master of Sidney-Sussex College, during the period of Oliver's residence there, was Dr. Samuel Ward, Fellow of Emanuel.‡ He was of a good family settled at Bishop's Middleham, in the county of Durham, 'where his father was a gentleman of more auncientry than estate.'§ In 1615 he was made Archdeacon of Taunton; in 1621, Prebendary of York and Lady Margaret's Professor. In 1618 he was appointed one of King James's delegates to the Synod of Dort;|| and after the meeting of the Long Parliament, was named to several honourable posts in the inquiries into Church government which then ensued. But he gradually withdrew from public employments, as the spirit of the times grew too rough and troubled for his peaceful and sensitive mind; and though he continued Master until the period of his death (September 7, 1643), he even suffered a temporary imprisonment for the passive resistance which he offered to the commands of the powers that were, and the assistance which he sanctioned the college in affording to the arms of the king.¶

* *Lords Journals.*

† Laud's *History of his Troubles and Trial*, pp. 194-5, and *Harl. MSS.* 7037, pp. 416-21.

‡ He became Master in 1609.—*Harl. MSS.* 7037.

§ Ackerman, ub. sup. and *Harl. MSS.* 7038, p. 355.

|| At which, however, he never attended.—Carter's *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 381.

¶ According to an entry in the 'book entitled *Acta Collegii Sidn.*' (p. 39), quoted in *Harl. MSS.* 7037, p. 422—'July 2, 1642, It was ordered by the Master, Mr. Garbut, Pendrett, Haine, Ward, being the major part then present, that 100*l.* should be taken out of the treasury for the king's use, and so

In those days we have some evidence to prove that the gratitude of his former pupils was of considerable advantage to him;* and at his funeral, we also learn, that the Lord Mandeville, then Earl of Manchester, attended. He died, it is said, in reduced circumstances, his estate never having been large, and nearly all of it spent in maintaining his poor relatives and purchasing the books necessary for his profession.† Perhaps, however, the fact which is the most remarkable in his history, and the one which connects him the most closely with Oliver, is that he was one of the translators, or rather revisers, of the Bible in King James's reign,‡ and associated therefore with that beautiful version, which, for pureness and elevation of language, defies all modern competition. Dr. Ward was not a man of great strength of character, but possessed a mind morbidly sensitive on the point of performing his duty to his college,§ with which he

much plate as hath been given to the Master and Fellows, for admission of fellow-commoners, should be set apart in lieu of it, till it be paid.'

* Dr. Richard Holdsworth writes, on the 30th of March, 1643, 'To the Right Worshipful his Reverend Friend, Mr. Doctor Warde, Master of Sydney College, in Cambridge: Rev. Sir,—Although I be both removed and retired, yet I casually heard, both to my grief of your restraint, and to my rejoicing of *your sudden enlargement*, being well assured that the first would have cost me much anguish, if it had not been sweetened with the second.'—*Tanner Papers* (Bodleian), vol. lxn. part 1, pp. 23-4.

† Fuller thus relates his death: 'Now, as high winds bring some men sooner into sleep, so I conceive the storms and tempests of these distracted times invited this good old man the sooner to his long rest;' and he gives the following epitome of his religious position. 'He was counted a Puritan *before* these times, and Popish *in* these times; and yet, being always the same, was a true Protestant at *all* times.'—Quoted in Ackerman, *ub. sup.*, and see Carter's *History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 381. *Harl. MSS.* 7038, p. 341.

‡ *Harl. MSS.* 7033, p. 47, and Carter's *History of the University of Cambridge*, pp. 375-8.

§ The extreme and morbid conscientiousness of Dr. Ward is well exhibited in the following extract from his *Adversaria*, given in *Harl. MSS.* 7038, pp. 344-9 'January 26, 1610, being Saturday. Remember the great agony and distress of thy mind for yielding to accept of Mr. Smith; how heavy, lumpish, and pensive thou wast ever since Tuesday at one of the clock, when thou did'st consent, upon his weeping and grief which he then uttered, and that thou did'st it only out of compassion, presently to comfort him who was in such anguish and distress. Consider thy great impotency and imbecility, that must presently yield, and could not say that thou would induce thyself and think of it, or defer a little to answer it. O! what

completely identified himself. He left behind him, consequently, the reputation of having been a most excellent governor, and an exact disciplinarian in his office; and the college flourished so much under him, that four new scholarships were founded in his time, new buildings erected, and the scholarships augmented. So strict was the discipline, and so sober were the manners of Sidney-Sussex during his mastership, that, in 1628, Laud, then Bishop of London, in his *Considerations presented to the King for better settling the Church Government*, complained of that college and Emanuel as being the nurseries of *Puritanism*,* a word which we have seen was then a synonym for remarkable purity of morals. In the face of these facts we have our attention drawn to alleged excesses of Oliver, which, if true, must inevitably, under so severe a discipline, have led to his expulsion. Heath, of course, is among these veracious chroniclers, and tells us, 'The relation of a father, and one so stern and strict an examiner of him, kept him in some awe and subjection' (notwithstanding all his boyish wickedness!) 'till his translation to Cambridge, where he was placed in Sydney College, more to satisfy his father's curiosity (!) and desire, than out of any hopes of completing him in his studies, which never reached any good knowledge in the Latin tongue. During his short residence here, where he was more famous for his exercises in the fields than in the schools (in which he never had the honour of, because no worth and merit to a degree), being one of the chief match-players and players of football, cudgels, or any other boisterous sport or game,' &c.

Sir William Dugdale reports that, 'in his youth (Oliver) was for some time bred up in Cambridge, where he made no

a grief was it to thy conscience to yield against thy special persuasion thou had'st of G. his eminency, and to show thy infidelity and instability, notwithstanding thou wast resolved not to choose. Good Lord, deliver me out of this anguish, and I will never be solicited to go against my special persuasion while I breathe. Rid me of this distress, and *I will be more careful to see my scholars bring me better accounts of sermons than heretofore they have done*, and will be more diligent in reading Scriptures, which (alas!) I have too too (*sic*) much neglected a long time. I know not what to do, but mine eyes are toward Thee !'

* *Memoirs of the Protector*, by O. Cromwell, Esq., p. 215.

proficiency in any kind of learning; but then and afterwards sorting himself with drinking companions and the under-sort of people (being of rough and blustering disposition), he had the name of a royster amongst those that knew him.' Dr. Bate, in a work published in 1661, goes so far as to assert, that 'his debauched incivilities and sottish insobriety expelled him from the University of Cambridge.'* Bate is, however, alone in this assertion, and does not repeat it himself in the edition of his better-known work, published in 1663, where he merely remarks that Oliver 'laid the foundations of his learning at Cambridge; but these were unstable, he being quickly satiated with study, and taking more pleasure in horse and field exercise.'† Burnet tells us, that Oliver 'had no foreign language but the little Latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very viciously and scantily.'

In proceeding with the collection of these traditionary accounts, we find that a friendly biographer relates that, 'whilst Oliver was a student at Cambridge, there wanted not some presages of his future greatness; neither was he then so much addicted to speculation as to action, as was observed by his tutor.' He adds that he left, 'after a good proficiency in the university,'‡ and Carrington speaks of his 'having finished his course of study at the university, where he had perfectly acquired unto himself the Latin tongue; which language, as all men know, he made use of to treat with strangers;' and he further informs us that Oliver 'excelled chiefly in the mathematics, as likewise he may be justly said to have yielded to no gentleman whatsoever in the knowledge of the rest of the arts and sciences.'§ A panegyrist of Cromwell, in later years, thus addresses him: 'You have gathered up the literary dust at Cambridge, without deepen-

* *Lives, Actions, and Executions of the prime Actors and principal Executioners of that horrid Murder of our late pious and sacred Sovereign King Charles I., of ever-blessed Memory*; with some remarkable passages in the lives of others, their assistants, who died before they could be brought to justice, pp. 4-5.

† *Elenchus Motuum*, &c. pp. 273-4.

‡ *Perfect Politician*, &c.

§ *Life*, &c. p. 4.

ing the tracks of learning; you have garnished your understanding with those arts which become a liberal nature; you have rubbed off the rust of your mind; you have sharpened the edge of your wit; you have gained such a character, as not to be reckoned an ill scholar; and fitted yourself, by the rudiments of the sciences, to manage the highest offices of the Commonwealth. You have given us, in fact, such a specimen of your capacity, that you may make it appear, if you were disposed to go on in the pursuit of learning, how very able you are to equal the greatest masters,' &c.

The royalist author of the life of Waller prefixed to the first edition of his works, informs us that 'Cromwell loved, or affected to love, men of wit. Mr. Waller frequently waited on him, being his kinsman; and, as he often declared to me, observed him to be very well read in the Greek and Roman story.* We find, besides, from the despatches of the foreign ministers, that Cromwell carried on fluently a conversation in Latin. Perhaps, however, the most satisfactory testimony to the manner in which he spent this period at college, may be gained from the general tenor of his subsequent speeches and letters, and particularly from one or two passages in the latter, which deserve to be extracted. Writing to the father of his son Richard's wife, he says, 'I have committed my son to you; pray give him advice. I envy him not his contents; but I fear he should be swallowed up in them. I would have him mind and understand business; *read a little history; study the mathematics and cosmography*: these are good, with subordination to the things of God. Better than idleness, or mere outward worldly contents. These fit for public services, for which a man is born.† And, in a letter to Richard himself, he more particularly says, 'Take heed of an unactive, vain spirit! *Recreate yourself with Sir Walter Raleigh's History: it's a body of history, and will add much more to your understanding than fragments of story.*'‡

The taste at least for such subjects as these, which he sub-

* Waller's 'Life,' prefixed to his *Poems*, p. 30: Lond. 1722, 12mo.

† Carlyle's *Letters, &c., of Cromwell* (1846), vol. ii. p. 45.

‡ *Ib.* p. 161.

sequently recommended to his son, Oliver must have formed at Huntingdon or Cambridge in his early years; and they tally remarkably with Carrington's account of his mathematical studies, and Waller's report of his proficiency in history.* Still there is reason to think that Oliver recalled his acquirements, in after years, in a very different spirit from that in which he first entered on them; and we shall not be far from the truth, if we deduce from these varying accounts that he studied at Cambridge, as most men do, without any especial eye to the ultimate advantages to be derived from the knowledge so gained, but from a sense of duty; and that his active and energetic constitution made him mix with his studies a large share of out-of-door exercises and enjoyments. By this means he acquired a greater knowledge of men and practical life; though it is absurd to suppose that, at this early age, he played at cudgels for the sake of studying either the one or the other.

But, whatever be our judgment on the details given above, this much is certain, that in the year 1617 Oliver's course of life at the university received at least a temporary check. In the June of that year Robert Cromwell died at Huntingdon, and was buried at the church of All Saints, on the 24th of the same month. Oliver must, of course, have returned home to attend the funeral. The death was rather sudden, if we may judge from the date of the will, which is as late as the 6th of this June, and from the still more striking date of the marriage of Oliver's younger sister, Margaret, which is entered thus in the register of St. John's: '20th June, 1617, Mrs. Margaret Cromwell married to Mr. Valentine Walton.' The marriage must have been precipitated by the approaching death of Robert Cromwell, which must have taken place almost contemporaneously; and with an interval of only four days, Oliver, possibly, stood in the church of St. John's to give away his sister, and in All Saints to bury his father. It was a joyless wedding; and with our knowledge

* We know also, on the authority of Dr. Manton, that Oliver in later years formed 'a noble collection' of books.—*Life of Dr. Manton*, p. 20: 8vo, Lond. 1725.

of subsequent events, may seem the fit presage to Valentine Walton of a life chequered with severe domestic trials and extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune, and finished in an honourable, though obscure and melancholy, exile in a foreign land. As far, however, as human foresight could reach, the marriage was in all respects most satisfactory. The Waltons of Great Staughton were a family of some considerable standing and importance in the county of Huntingdon; and though in many points the mind of Valentine Walton had been formed in a different school from that of his brother-in-law, ultimately they harmonized in being both of them deeply imbued with the spirit of Puritanism. By his will Robert Cromwell 'left to Elizabeth his wife two-thirds of his property (inclusive of her jointure) for the term of twenty-one years, to go towards maintaining his daughters; and to the latter he also gave the 600*l.* which his brother-in-law Whalley owed him. The will is witnessed by John Cromwell (son of Sir Oliver), Thomas Beard (Oliver's old schoolmaster), Richard Cromwell (Oliver's uncle), and Paul Kent. The will was proved at London on the 21st of August following;* and by an inquisition taken at Huntingdon on the 9th of September, it appears that the testator died possessed of 'one capital messuage and lands, &c., called Le Augustine Fryers, in Huntingdon, held of the king *in capite* for the twentieth part of a knight's fee, and the rectory of Hartford, held also of the king as of the manor of East Greenwich.'

'The will which Robert Cromwell made was probably influenced by the known intention of Sir Thomas Steward to make his nephew his heir. The disposition, under these circumstances, must be considered as rather favourable to the interests of Oliver, and as indicating in his father no distrust of his management of the property.'

As to the course which the young head of the family, who had then just completed his eighteenth year, pursued under these circumstances, there exists considerable doubt. According to several *authorities* (if their testimony is worthy

* Prerog. Off. London, Weldon 78 (in Noble, vol. i. p. 84), and *Harl. MSS.* 759, p. 206.

such a name) he did not again return to Cambridge, but proceeded to London to enter on the study of the law. But these writers do not definitely state the year in which he quitted Huntingdon for the metropolis, and differ among themselves as to whether he did so immediately after his father's death, or after the lapse of some shorter or longer period spent at his mother's house. One of Oliver's later biographers remarks, 'Some writers say he continued at college one year, others two: upon the strictest search and inquiry at the college, no trace is to be found there of the time of his quitting; and it is not likely that there should be any other authentic source of information, after the lapse of forty years to the Restoration. No ground, therefore, of belief is left that he quitted the college before the usual time of quitting.*' It is very possible, however, that Oliver left the university prematurely, in consequence of the different position which he was called upon to assume on his father's death; and this may account for, and is confirmed by, the fact that his name does not appear among the graduates from that college. But, beyond this argument, there is not any worthy a moment's consideration, for the earlier biographers make no appeal to the testimony of living persons (such, for instance, as the Earl of Manchester) from whom they might possibly have obtained authentic details; but leave their statements to rest on the trust inspired by the remainder of their narratives, which can hardly be said to be great in any unprejudiced reader. And the same remark applies to their stories about Oliver's dissolute life at Cambridge, and the immediately subsequent period of his life, upon which we now enter. It will soon be seen that the dates assigned to the several delinquencies are in no slight degree confused and at variance with themselves and with ascertained facts.

If the united testimony of friends and foes is to be allowed any weight, it appears tolerably certain that Oliver, after finishing his college career, visited London, and while there

* Oliver Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector*, &c. p. 215. The author of *The Portraiture of His Royal Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector*, says (p. 8) 'here [at Cambridge] he lived for some years.'

entered on the study of the law. Most of his early biographers make him to have entered at Lincoln's Inn; but the absence of his name from the books of that society seems a fatal objection to this assertion, and is a not unfair test of the general accuracy of these historians. The books of the other societies have been searched with equal want of success; from which we may deduce, that if Oliver really did engage in any law studies, 'he entered himself merely in the chambers of some learned gentleman, with an eye to obtain some tincture of law, for doing county magistracy, and the other duties of a gentleman citizen, in a reputable manner.'* It is, however, to be observed that Carrington, who is one of the most respectable of Oliver's biographers, and whose book is dedicated to Richard Cromwell, tells us that, 'having finished his course of study at the university, his parents designed him to the study of the *civil* law, which is the foundation of the politics; it being very requisite that he who was ordained to give law to three kingdoms, and to the whole sea besides, should have a smack of the law, and chiefly of those which were the most essential and universal; for he dived not over-deep into their study, but rather chose to run a course in all the rest of the sciences,' &c.† That Oliver should have come to London, in order to gain a general knowledge of *jurisprudence*, seems a natural sequence to his classical studies; and would, of course, by no means imply his having entered on the profession of the law. Bishop Burnet, on the authority of Lieutenant-general Drummond (afterwards Lord Strathallan), assures us that, in Drummond's presence, Oliver, in an interview with some commissioners sent from Scotland, 'entered into a long discourse on the nature of the regal power according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan;' and adds that 'Drummond said Cromwell had plainly the better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles.'‡ Without laying too much stress on any hearsay story of Burnet, I may add, that other incidental proofs occur in his

* Carlyle, vol. i. p. 61. It is possible that he may have entered at one of the inns of Chancery.

† *Life*, &c. p. 4.

‡ *History of his Own Times*.

letters and speeches that Oliver had devoted some attention to the study of jurisprudence.

His conduct, while in London, is thus described by Heath : '*It was not long after his father's death ere Oliver, weary of the Muses and that strict course of life*'—here Heath recollects himself and qualifies thus—'*though he gave latitude enough to it in his wild sallies and flyings out, abandoned the university, and returned home, saluted with the name of young Mr. Cromwell, now in the room and place of his father; which how he became, his uncontrolled debaucheries did publicly declare.*' After renumerating these, with the details of which it is unnecessary to trouble the reader, Heath continues : '*These pranks made his mother advise with herself and his friends what she should do with him, to remove the scandal which had been cast upon the family by his means : and therefore it was concluded to send him to one of the inns of court, under pretence of his studying the laws; where, among the mass of people in London, and frequency of vices of all sorts, his might pass in the throng. Lincoln's Inn was the place pitched upon; and thither Mr. Cromwell, in a suitable garb to his fortunes, was sent; where but for a little he continued; for the nature of the place, and the studies there, were so far regretful beyond all his tedious apprenticeship to the more facile academick sciences, that he had a kind of antipathy to his company and converse there, and so spent his time in an inward spite, which for that space superseded the enormous extravagancy of former viciousness; his vices having a certain kind of intermission, succession, or transmigration, like a complete revolution of wickedness into one another, so that few of his feats were practised here. And it is some kind of good luck for that honourable society, that he hath left so small and so innocent a memorial of his membership therein.*'* Another writer's version of this is, that 'he came to Lincoln's Inn, where he associated himself with those of the best rank and quality, and the most ingenuous persons;

* *Flagellum*, pp. 15-16. There is a tradition that the chambers over the gateway of Lincoln's Inn, in Chancery-lane, were those occupied or frequented by Oliver during this period.

for though he were of a nature not adverse to study and contemplation, yet he seemed rather addicted to conversation, and the reading of men and their several tempers, than to a continual poring upon authors,' &c.* But it is not only on subjects such as these that the thoughts of Oliver are engaged. Whatever doubt may exist as to his residence or studies in London, the registers of St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate, still bear indisputable testimony, that at least on the 22nd day of August, 1620, he was present in that city. In these we read, in the list of marriages under that day, 'Oliver Cromwell to Elizabeth Bourcher.' This, as Mr. Carlyle has observed, gives us a clue as to the manner in which Oliver passed part of his time during his stay in London. Elizabeth Bourchier, whom some of the royalist lampoons have caricatured as a homely sloven, appears, from the portrait still at Hinchinbrook, to have possessed considerable beauty. Her features are regular and pleasing, and her whole countenance gives an impression of dignity and intelligence. The little we know of her, points to a character which adapted itself with ease and propriety to every position, which, during the variations of her singular fortunes, she was called upon to occupy. Some letters which, at a later period, passed between her and her husband, have, fortunately, been preserved; and these present a pleasing picture of the warm and constant affection and confidence which ever existed between them. From them we learn that, even when Oliver was at the height of his glory, she ventured to urge upon him, with mild earnestness, the course which she thought best adapted to sustain in others that high opinion of his character which she believed to be only his legitimate due. Her father, Sir James Bourchier, knight, 'of Tower-hill, London,' is said to have been one of a family of city merchants, and is well known to have possessed landed property near Felsted in Essex, where he usually resided. He was, also, connected with the Hampdens, under whose auspices the marriage was generally understood to have been arranged. Three days after its celebration (August 25th), as 'we discover from a deed still in existence, Oliver (described

* *The Portraiture of His Royal Highness Oliver, late Lord Protector, 1659.*

in the document as Oliver Cromwell, *alias* Williams, of Huntingdon, Esq.) entered into a defeasance of statute staple to Thomas Morley* (citizen and leather-seller of London) in 4000*l.*, conditioned that he should, before the 20th of November following, convey and assure unto Elizabeth his wife, for the term of her life, for her jointure, all that parsonage-house of Hartford, with all the glebe lands and tythes, in the county of Huntingdon.†

It was to the old house at Huntingdon, inhabited by his mother, that the young husband carried his wife shortly after their marriage; and it was there that he took up his residence; for on the 9th of January, in the succeeding year, we find his name affixed to the writ returning Sir Henry St. John, knight, and Sir Miles Sandes, knight and baronet, as members for the borough in Parliament.‡ The second name which is affixed to the writ, is that of his schoolmaster, Dr. Beard. Henceforward the life of Oliver resolves itself, for seven years, into that of any other sober head of a family in the seventeenth century, in comfortable but not wealthy circumstances. Royalist scandal has scarcely ventured to intrude upon the privacy of his domestic circle during these early years of his marriage. Any excesses which have been attributed to his youth end with the commencement of his married life; except in a few writers, whose charges, however, seem only to amount to those of extravagance, and deficiency in attention to the business of life. But, before entering on this fresh period, it is necessary to observe that several of his biographers seem to have been unaware of the early date of his marriage, and present us with accounts of fresh excesses after his return to Huntingdon from London. After the

* Sir James Bouchier's mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of *J. Morley*, of London. His father's name was Thomas Bouchier.

† Noble, vol. i. p. 124.

‡ *A Collection of Ancient Records relating to the Borough of Huntingdon, &c.*, by Edward Griffith, F.S.A. (1727), p. 105. I am, however, now somewhat doubtful as to this Oliver Cromwell being the Protector, for in the transcript in *Addl. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 15,665, § 2, the indenture is between the sheriff of one part, and the bailiffs, with Oliver Cromwell, *knight*, Henry Cromwell, Esq., Thomas Cromwell, and Thomas Beard, D.D., &c., of the other part. This differs in several respects from the copy supplied by Griffith.

specimens which have been already given of these libellous stories, it would be occupying space which should be filled by ascertained facts, to do more than allude to the general tenor, especially as the particulars belong rather to a subsequent period. Their sum is that, after recklessly running through his own and his mother's estate in dissoluteness and gross debauchery, and alienating the affections of his uncle Sir Thomas Steward, Oliver, when on the brink of ruin, contemplated emigration to New England, and before acting on this idea, changed his course, became a reformed man, and then, in appearance at least, a religious enthusiast; regained his credit with his uncle, repaid all sums won at the gaming-table, and gradually reinstated himself in the good opinion of his relatives the Hampdens, through whose recommendation he became engaged to Elizabeth Bourchier. Of course these biographers are completely at variance with one another as to dates. Heath places Oliver's reckless proceedings and reformation before his marriage. Bate transfers his extravagance to a subsequent period, while he was at Huntingdon. Dugdale* places it at a still later epoch, when he had left that town. Heath tells us that his reformation followed the loss of his patrimony. Bate makes his losses follow his reformation; and asserts that, in consequence of these losses, he resolved to go to New England. Dugdale assures us that he determined to go to New England, and reformed with a view to that object. From Bate, a reconciliation with his uncle would seem to have been the cause. An anecdote in Dr. Symmonds' MS. notes seems to place his reformation after his uncle Steward's death. According to these authorities, when perfectly destitute, he repays sums of money which he had gained at the gaming-table. Heath ruins him, and then places 30*l.* in his hands in order to show his ridiculous Puritanism. And, in singular disproof of all these authorities, we find that in 1631 Oliver was in possession of the whole of his paternal estates at Huntingdon, and after selling them for 1800*l.*, was able to invest the money in another equally

* Sir Wm. Dugdale's *Short View of the late Troubles in England*, p. 459, &c.

substantial form. And three years before this date he had been called on by the voice of his fellow-townsmen to fill a post which implied a certain amount both of character and wealth, that of their representative in the Commons House of Parliament. The colleague of the so-called bankrupt of Huntingdon was James Montagu, the third son of Henry Earl of Manchester, and formerly himself a student of Sidney-Sussex College.*

Throwing aside, therefore, for the present, these alleged extravagances subsequent to his marriage, it will be well, before quitting this disagreeable subject, to make a few general observations on the misconduct attributed to Oliver prior to that event. It has been already seen with what eagerness his life has been pursued in order to found a charge of original special depravity against his character—how, when the child was unable to speak, the very hangings of his room have been scanned to furnish auguries of his future wickedness—how every conceivable misdemeanour has been carefully brought together, exaggerated, in a spirit of genuine malignity, into the form of deliberate crime, and presented to us as the natural results of a bad heart;—how this same malignity has followed the footsteps of the youth in his progress in life, attributing to him ignorance in the centre of a seat of learning, and dissoluteness under a discipline distinguished for producing the very opposite results;—and then, again, when the facts were too well known to enable this moral delinquency to be attributed to him in another sphere of action, how his studies have been resolved into the reveries of an inward spite, and his orderly life into a mere revolution in his circle of vices. But happily these chroniclers are not satisfied with stating in general terms the recurrence of Oliver's ordinary habits of debauchery, but also descend to particulars of time and place, and so present the antidote to their own poison. What, then, is the length of time into which all these occurrences of his life must be crowded to satisfy their own chronology?

* Griffith's *Records of Huntingdon*, p. 106. Transcript of writ in *Addl. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 15,665, § 2.

Passing by his boyish freaks, we may commence at the period when he entered college. He had then completed, with the exception of two days, his seventeenth year. Four months after the completion of his twenty-first year he became a married man. Thus, four years and the same number of months are all that we have left for his college career and his law studies in London; and the time occupied by the latter must, according to Heath's own statement, be taken from the period of his alleged debauchery. This must therefore be confined to the time of his residence at Cambridge, and his visit to his native town of Huntingdon, at his father's death. That his dissolute habits should exhibit themselves *immediately* after that event would not be very likely in the case of any one, and is wholly contrary to the recorded character of Oliver. When we add to this the testimony of the Nonjuror who afterwards inhabited Oliver's house in that borough, and who assures us that they had no traces in that neighbourhood of his having led a dissolute life* (though the half-century of restored royalism had given ample opportunities for the *remembrance* of any such excesses), I think we shall find ourselves reduced to the period of Oliver's college life as the only time when he could have committed the alleged enormities; and this is exactly when any such proceedings would have been most likely to be attended with visibly untoward results. In a college where the numbers were so small, and under such a man as Dr. Ward, whose knowledge of and interest in every student was complete and deep, it is impossible to suppose that any offences of the character attributed to Oliver could have failed to meet with their due; and yet of such a stigma, the malignity of his enemies has failed to preserve any record.

Some readers may perhaps think that too great a space has been devoted to the question of Oliver's conduct in early life in proportion to the real importance of the subject. Independently, however, of what I have already said on the weight

* 'The worthy and curious Mr. Edward Farrar, of Huntingdon, acquainted Sir James Barrow that they had no traces in that neighbourhood of Oliver's having led a dissolute life.'—NOBLE, vol. i. p. 109 (note).

which attaches to our decision as to the credibility of these stories, and of the plea which might be adduced from our natural desire to gain an accurate notion of every part of the history of a great man, and especially of that period of his life by which his mind would be so greatly affected in its formation, the minute investigation which has been made will be found of considerable importance in connexion with the solution of a doubt which will suggest itself to the minds of many reflecting readers. Though all these writers differ with one another in the details, it may be said, they all agree in attributing to Oliver gross debauchery and headlong expenditure in the early part of his life. Though it may be true that they quote no authority for their statements, and that these apparently rest merely on rumour, the common parent of them all, yet, it may be urged that this rumour would not have arisen without some foundation in fact. In answer to this, I allow that the rumour points to a change having taken place in Oliver's character at this period; but as to the nature of that change, it may be asserted that it is as inaccurate as such a source of information is usually found to be. The truth seems to be that it was in these years that Oliver Cromwell became a Puritan. Whether the commencement of this mental revolution preceded or followed his marriage we cannot ascertain; but we possess some words of his written nearly nine years after his first entrance into public life, which prove that even then the struggle continued, and the rest had not been achieved; that the black clouds which enveloped the past still threw their heavy shadows over his onward path, though the light of heaven pencilled upon their gloomy canvas the emblem of faith and hope.

The record of such a moral crisis cannot expect to find a response in every reader, and is perhaps inevitably exposed to imputations from some of fanaticism or hypocrisy. Nor must we be surprised to find persons, with minds very differently constituted from that of the writer of the letter I refer to, interposing, as a measure of its self-condemning language, their own scale of moral excellence and human imperfections, and imagining that they see in it a confession of not having in early years paid the ordinary tribute of mint, anise, and cumin

to the law of society. It may, however, to some appear more probable that these expressions have another and a deeper signification.

The letter which contains them was written by Oliver to a cousin;—perhaps a daughter of his uncle Henry Cromwell of Upwood—at any rate, the wife of the celebrated Oliver St. John. It is a strictly private letter, and is liable to all the disadvantages of such communications when taken out of their proper sphere and used as *public* documents. Few can understand or sympathize with such but those whom chance has thrown into similar circumstances; and even then, how much we must lose from not possessing a knowledge of those tacit references, understood only by the writer and receiver of the letter. And this (as some may feel) makes the publication of such letters, even at so long a distance of time, a painful proceeding, possessing too much of the character of a violation of a private trust. But if with difficulty we should persuade ourselves to look into these secret confidences, they ought at least not to be subjected hastily to imputations of cant or nonsense. It is surely not too much to ask the reader to pause, before pronouncing, merely on the strength of his own experience, such a judicial condemnation of the feelings of others.

‘Dear cousin,’ the letter begins, ‘I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of me upon this opportunity. Alas! you do too highly prize my lines and my company. I may be ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am, and the mean improvement of my talent. Yet, to honour my God by declaring what He hath done for my soul, in this I am confident, and I will be so. Truly, then, this I find, that He giveth springs in a dry, barren wilderness, where no water is. I live, you know where—in *Meshec*, which, they say, signifies *prolonging*—in *Kedar*, which signifies *blackness*; yet the Lord forsaketh me not. Though He do prolong, yet He will, I trust, bring me to His tabernacle—to His resting-place. My soul is with the congregation of the First-born, my body rests in hope; and if here I may honour my God either by doing or by suffering, I shall be most glad.

'Truly no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wages beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in His Son, and give me to walk in the light, and give *us* to walk in the light, as He is the Light! He it is that enlightened our blackness—our darkness. I dare not say He hideth His face from me. He giveth me to see light in His light. One beam in a dark place hath exceeding much refreshment in it: blessed be His name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine! *You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me.* O the riches of His mercy! Praise Him for me; pray for me, that He who hath begun a good work would perfect it in the day of Christ.*

Those who are at all acquainted with the characteristics of Puritanism, or are familiar with the peculiar phraseology which, surviving to so great a degree the spirit and circumstances that gave it birth, is still habitually employed in certain circles in recording what are called religious 'experiences,' will, perhaps, hesitate to believe, with Noble and others of Cromwell's biographers, that the expressions found in the preceding letter clearly prove the truth of the rumours alluded to, that he spent his youth in debauchery. Or leaving out of view any special considerations, and looking merely at the ordinary features of human character, may we not trace in this letter the recognition of another kind of 'darkness' from that which arises from overt breaches of the moral law, and consider that the terms 'moral apathy' and 'deadness' or (if the word may be used without offence) '*worldliness* of mind,' would more nearly express the real fact intended to be conveyed? The following advice of Oliver to a son in later years, may confirm and explain this view. 'Dick Cromwell,' he writes, 'I take your letters kindly. I like expressions when they come plainly from the heart, and are not strained nor affected. I am persuaded it's the Lord's

* Carlyle's *Letters, &c., of Cromwell* (second edition), vol. i. p. 127, and Thurloe's *State Papers* (1742).

mercy to place you where you are : I wish you may own it and be thankful, fulfilling all relations to the glory of God. Seek the Lord and His face continually : let this be the *business of your life* and strength ; and let all things be *subservient and in order to this* ! you cannot find nor behold the face of God but in Christ ; therefore labour to know God in Christ ; which the Scripture makes to be the sum of all, even life eternal. Because *the true knowledge is not literal or speculative, but inward, transforming the mind to it.* It's uniting to, and *participating of*, the Divine nature. (2 Peter i. 4.) It's such a *knowledge* as Paul speaks of. (Phil. iii. 8—10.) How little of this knowledge is among us ! My weak prayers shall be for you. *Take heed of an unactive, vain spirit !** To his son's wife he writes : ' I desire you both to make it *above all things* your business to seek the Lord : as for the pleasures of this life, and outward business, let that be upon the bye. Be *above* all these things, by faith in Christ ; and then you shall have the true use and comfort of them, and not otherwise.' To her father, again, he writes : ' I have delivered my son up to you, and I hope you will counsel him ; he will need it. I wish he may be *serious* ; the times require it.' And, at another time : ' I have committed my son to you ; pray give him advice. *I envy him not his contents ; but I fear he should be swallowed up in them,*' &c. To his wife Oliver writes : ' I praise the Lord I am increased in strength in my outward man : but that will not satisfy me except I get a heart to love and serve my heavenly Father better ; and get more of the light of His countenance, which is better than life, and more power over my corruptions. Mind poor Betty [his daughter] of the Lord's great mercy. Oh I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord ; and to keep close to Him ; and to take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company.' In a subsequent letter, Oliver, having heard that his son had exceeded his allowance and was in debt, observes to the latter's father-

* These words are underscored in the original.

in-law: 'I desire to be understood that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honourable carriage of himself in them. But *if pleasure and self-satisfaction be made the business of a man's life*, I scruple to feed this humour. I desire your faithfulness—to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life; and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seek grace from Christ to enable him to walk therein. *This hath life in it*, and will come to somewhat: *what is a poor creature without this? This will not abridge of lawful pleasures, but teach such a use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience going along with it.* Indeed I cannot think I do well to feed a *voluptuous humour in my son if he should make pleasures the business of his life.*'* Such a knowledge as this, then, is that 'godliness' which Oliver speaks of in his letter to his cousin. It was *this* which, having then no idea of its real signification, he 'hated' and derided. It is this persecution of what he afterwards believed to be the most important truth, which recalled to his mind the expression of the repentant Paul: 'I was the chief of sinners.' But it by no means follows that, any more than St. Paul, he in those 'unconverted' days led an abandoned life according to the opinion of the world. So far from this being necessarily the case, he might have passed through life in this state of mind, and left behind him a much 'respected' name. I confess that the strong passions, which undoubtedly formed part of the constitution of Oliver's mind, would have led me *à priori* to consider it as very probable that in his early years they might have carried him into excesses; but there exists really no *evidence* of this, and it seems almost impossible to fix upon any time when such could have been his conduct. Moreover, the letter quoted appears to me to point to the *gradual* rise of the mind from a state of indifference, rather than to the violent and sudden exchange of animal passion for religious enthusiasm. The extracts which I have subjoined from his correspondence strongly confirm this view; at any rate, it is an important question whether the change

* Carlyle's *Letters, &c., of Cromwell*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 45, 46, 160, 303, 323.

in Oliver were outward and *moral*,* or simply an inward and more strictly *religious* reformation; and two extracts which follow certainly favour the latter supposition. It appears that Oliver's daughters in later years were not free from a disquietude of mind, which their father describes thus (writing to one of them): 'Your friends at Ely are well; your sister Claypole is, I trust in mercy, exercised with some perplexed thoughts. *She sees her own vanity and carnal mind; bewailing it: she seeks after (as I hope also) what will satisfy. And thus to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next to a finder; and such an one shall every faithful, humble seeker be at the end. Happy seeker, happy finder! Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious without some sense of self, vanity, and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousness of His, and could go less in desire—less than pressing after full enjoyment? Dear heart, press on; let not husband, let not anything cool thy affections after Christ. I hope he will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in thy husband is that of the image of Christ he bears. Look on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; do so for me.*'†

In the above there is a striking allusion to one cause of the strong terms of self-reprobaton employed in Oliver's letter to his cousin. In proportion as the future became more bright and cloudless, the past assumed in contrast a darker and more hateful aspect; so that actions which, from the absence of positive sinfulness, might have been accounted meritorious, from the absence of high motives, sank in his estimation into the category of real offences. In the second extract to which I would direct attention, Oliver points out the manner in which such depressing retrospects should be

* Those of my readers who, notwithstanding what has been said in the text, are inclined to think that the balance of probability leans to the side of an outward and *moral* reformation, will enter into the spirit of quaint old Fuller's remarks, in speaking of the early life of Sir John Popham: 'In his youthful days he was as stout and skilful a man at sword and buckler as any in that age, and wild enough in his recreations. *But, oh! if quicksilver could be really fixed, to what a treasure would it amount! Such is wild youth seriously reduced to gravity, as by this young man did appear.*'—*Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 284.

† Carlyle, vol. i. p. 277.

escaped from, and we shall not err greatly if we attribute this advice to his own experience during the days of this mental struggle. Writing to the husband of the daughter to whom the other letters were addressed, he says: 'Salute your dear wife from me. Bid her beware of a *bondage* spirit. (Rom. viii. 15.) Fear is the natural issue of such a spirit; the antidote is love. The voice of fear is: *If I had done this, if I had avoided that, how well it had been with me! I know this hath been her vain reasoning.* Love argueth in this wise: What a Christ have I, what a Father in and through Him! What a name hath my Father, *merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth; forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin.* What a nature hath my Father: *He is Love—free in it, unchangeable, infinite!* What a covenant between Him and Christ—for all the seed, for every one, wherein He undertakes all, and the poor soul nothing. The new covenant is *grace—to or upon the soul, to which it is passive and receptive: I'll do away their sins; I'll write my law, &c.; I'll put it in their hearts; they shall never depart from me, &c.* This commends the love of God; it's Christ dying for men *without* strength, for men whilst sinners, whilst enemies. And shall we seek for the root of our comforts within us? What God hath done, what He is to us in Christ, is the root of our comfort: in this is stability; in us is weakness. *Acts of obedience are not perfect, and therefore yield not perfect grace. Faith, as an act, yields it not, but as it carries us into Him, who is our perfect rest and peace; in whom we are accounted of, and received by, the Father, even as Christ Himself! This is our high calling. Rest we here, and here only!**

It is not surprising that the struggle going on in his mind should have seriously affected the physical health of Oliver. A respectable royalist memoir-writer, Sir Philip Warwick, tells us that, 'after the rendition of Oxford, he, living some time with the Lady Beadle [his wife's sister] near Huntingdon, had occasion to converse with Mr. Cromwell's physician, Dr. Simcott, who assured Sir Philip that for many years

* Carlyle, vol. ii. pp. 377-8.

his patient was a most splenetic man, and had fancies about the cross in that town ; and that he had been called up to him at midnight, and such unseasonable hours, very many times, upon a strong fancy, which made him believe he was then dying.* This account is probably confirmed by an entry in the *Ephemerides* of Sir Theodore Mayerne, the celebrated physician of King James, which is a journal of the cases he attended from the year 1603 to 1649. On the 15th of September, 1628, we find that he prescribed for 'Mons^r. Cromwell, *valde melancholicus*.'† The probability is, that this 'Mons^r. Cromwell' was Oliver, then M.P. for Huntingdon, and in London ; and if so, the entry speaks for itself, and needs no illustration. It also affords us a date, and fixes at least one stage of this religious struggle upon the interval between the first and second sessions of the Parliament in which Oliver entered on public life. It was in the period of inaction that he felt most acutely the influence of his morbid depression of mind ; and this explains how, as his attention was engaged more on the active duties of political life, his character became more healthy, and he ceased to be 'the splenetic dreamer of Huntingdon.'

Other influences were also growing up in the home circle which must have assisted materially in distracting his mind from this excessive self-analysis. Four sons and a daughter now filled the household at Huntingdon with other thoughts. The eldest child, who bore the name of his grandfather, Robert, was baptized in St. John's church on the 8th day of October, 1621. Until very recently this was all that was known of him. A writer, however, in the *Edinburgh Review*‡ (January, 1856) has communicated the interesting fact, that young Robert survived to his eighteenth year, and was buried at Felsted in Essex within seven months of the letter to Mrs. St. John. On the 6th of February, 1623, a second son received at the font of St. John's the name of Oliver. A daughter Bridget, whose baptism bears the date of the 5th of

* *Memoirs*, p. 275.

† *Ephemerides* (Sloane MSS. Brit. Mus. 2069, fols. 92-6), given in Ellis' *Letters*, second series, vol. iii. p. 248.

‡ This writer has since (1858) been stated to be Mr. Forster.

August, 1624, followed in order of time; and was succeeded by two sons, Richard and Henry—the former born the 4th of October, 1626, the latter baptized at All Saints' Church on the 20th January, 1628. Connected with the birth of Richard, the first of Oliver's sons, whose name belongs to English history, we have a note of invitation still existing in print—the original of which some collector, whose passion for autographs overpowered his respect for the commandments,* has cut out and carried away from its repository in the Ashmole Museum at Oxford. It runs as follows:—

To my approved good Friend, Mr. Henry Downhall, at his Chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge: These.

Huntingdon, 14th October, 1626.

Loving Sir,—Make me so much your servant by being godfather unto my child. I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation, but my occasions would not permit me; and therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by—Your friend and servant

OLIVER CROMWELL.

While the household at Huntingdon, occupied with these simple domestic events, were leading a life of quiet retirement, the fortunes of the elder branch of the Cromwells were gradually sinking under the effect of the lavish expenditure and reckless generosity of Sir Oliver. At length a deed of sale, dated the 20th of June, 1627, transferred the possession of the knightly seat of Hinchinbrook from the family of the Cromwells to that of the Montagues, whose residence it has ever since remained. The purchase-money was 3000*l.*; one half of which at once went into the hands of Sir Oliver's creditors. The purchaser was 'Sir Sidney Montagu, knight, of Barnwell, one of his Majesty's Masters of the Requests,' and a brother of Henry Earl of Manchester. The effect of this change was seen at the ensuing elections to Parliament.

* I confess I strongly suspect Hearne to have been guilty of this speculation. His character, in that respect, is not immaculate, and the letter first appears in print in one of his miscellaneous antiquarian gatherings, the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, appendix.

Sir Oliver had retired to Ramsey into comparative obscurity, and his name no longer appears as a representative for the county of Huntingdon; while a younger son of the Earl of Manchester is returned as one of the members for the borough. To what are we to attribute the junction with him as a colleague of the nephew and godson of the fallen knight? Probably a lingering feeling of regard to the family with which Huntingdon had been so long connected, entered into and formed no inconsiderable element in the motives of the townsmen. But another reason may be assigned, which would operate quite as strongly towards the same choice. It was not in vain that Dr. Beard had for so many years been a painstaking lecturer in the town of Huntingdon; and his hearers would seek, as their representative, not merely the scion of an ancient family, but one who could carry to the Commons' House of Parliament a large share of their own religious convictions. It was as the representative of the Puritanism of Huntingdon that Oliver Cromwell, on the 23rd day of January, 1628, three days only after the baptism of his son Henry, was chosen to serve in Parliament for the borough; and probably on Monday, the 17th of March following, first* appeared as a member within the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel.

* 'An impression,' in later times, 'has prevailed that Oliver sat in the 1625 Parliament. A friend, however, of one of his later biographers (Dr. Russel), supplies the following decisive note on this point: 'A few years since there was a disputed election case in the borough, which was carried to a committee of the House; and it became necessary that authenticated copies of the returns should be procured from the originals of the town. I examined these, and found that Cromwell sat only once for Huntingdon—namely, in the third Parliament of Charles I., as stated above. In the first Parliament of that monarch, the former members, Sir Henry St. John, and Sir Henry Mainwaring, were returned.'—(Forster, vol. iv. p. 37, note.) This shows that Mr. Carlyle is right in his remarks on that point. The whole has originated in an error of Mr. Browne Willis (*Notitia Parliamentaria*), who puts Oliver Cromwell, *Esq.*, as member for Huntingdonshire, instead of Oliver Cromwell, *knight*, probably mistaking this last word in the writ for knight of the shire. Mr. Oliver Cromwell, in his *Memoirs* of his ancestor (p. 203), says, that 'it appears, from a search now made at the Crown Office, that *Sir Oliver Cromwell* sat for Huntingdonshire.' If this be correct, Mr. Oliver Cromwell was more fortunate in his researches than Mr. Carlyle, who reports the loss of the writs of that period.—(Vol. i. p. 72.) Some of the writs at least would seem to have escaped this fate, for we find some modern transcripts of them, evidently for some point concerning the corporation, &c., of Huntingdon, in *Addl. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 15,665, § 2.

Of one of his speeches in this Parliament we possess an imperfect but significant record. A sub-committee had been appointed to examine into the whole affair of the pardons granted to certain clergymen previously condemned by Parliament, and to ascertain at whose instigation they were obtained. In the course of the inquiry to which this gave rise, Sir D. Norton informed the House that 'one Dr. Moore, attending the Bishop of Winchester upon an occasion, the bishop told him that he had oftentimes preached before King James against popery, which was well liked of then, but now you must not do so.' On this Eliot remarked: 'In this *Laud* is contracted all the danger we fear; for he that procured these pardons may be the author of these new opinions; and I doubt not but that his majesty, being informed thereof, will leave him to the justice of this House.' Hitherto Oliver Cromwell's name does not appear on the *Journals* or in any of the reports of parliamentary proceedings, as taking a part in public affairs. Now, however, a matter had arisen on which he was able to give some information to the House; and accordingly, on the 11th of February, 1629, we find the first mention of his name on the *Journals* of the Commons, and a brief record in the books of speeches of the heads of his first speech. At the Committee for Religion on that day Mr. Sherland reported, concerning the pardons, that they had examined Dr. Sibthorpe's and Cosin's pardons; that Sibthorpe solicited his own pardon, and said he would give it to the Bishop of Winchester to get the king's hand to it. That it was evident the Bishop of Winchester got the king's hand to Sibthorpe's and Cosin's pardons; and also Montagu's pardon was promised by him. That Dr. Mainwaring solicited his own pardon; and the Bishop of Winchester got the king's hand to his pardon. It was likewise said that the pardons were all drawn by Mr. Attorney before there was any warrant. Hereupon MR. OLIVER CROMWELL said: 'He had heard, by relation from one Dr. Beard, that (Dr. Beard said) Dr. Alabaster had preached flat popery at Paul's Cross; and that the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Neile) had commanded him, as he was his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary.' He said that 'Mainwaring

—who, by censure of the last Parliament for his sermons, was disabled from holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the church, and confessed the justice of that censure—was, nevertheless, by this same bishop's means, preferred to a rich living. If these be the steps to church preferment,' said he, 'what may we not expect?'

A contemporary writer, unfavourably disposed towards Oliver, thus describes his style of speaking in Parliament; and the passage gives us some idea of the effect likely to be produced by the speech of which the above is a meagre sketch: 'When he delivered his mind in the House, it was with a *strong and masculine* eloquence, more able to persuade than to be persuaded. His expressions were hardy, opinions resolute, asseverations grave and vehement; always intermixt (Andronicus like) with sentences of Scripture, to give them the greater weight, and the better to insinuate into the affections of the people. He expressed himself with some kind of passion; but with such a commanding, wise deportment, that at his pleasure he governed and swayed the House, as he had most times the *leading* voice. Those who find no such wonders in his speeches, may find it in the effect of them.* So in the present instance, Sir Robert Philips, following Oliver, observed that Dr. Marshall would relate as much said to him by the Bishop of Winchester as the bishop said to Dr. Alabaster;' and Mr. Kirton thereupon moved, 'that Dr. Marshall and Dr. Beard might be sent for;' and further said, 'this bishop, though he hath leapt through many bishoprics, yet he hath left popery behind him!' This motion was agreed to, and the same day we read in the *Journals*, that 'Mr. Pym reporteth, from the Grand Committee for Religion, further informations given against the Bishop of Winchester. That the committee desireth Dr. Marshall and Dr. Beard may be sent for to testify their knowledge therein. Upon question, ordered, Dr. Marshall of Hampshire, and Dr. Beard of Huntingdon, to be written to by the Speaker to come up and testify against the bishop: that to Dr. Beard to be delivered to Mr. Cromwell; the other, to Dr. Marshall, to be delivered

* Winstanley's *Worthies*, &c. pp. 528-9.

to Sir Jo. Jephson.' It was John Pym, sitting in the chair of the committee, whom Oliver Cromwell addressed in his maiden speech.

Two days afterwards, in the same Committee for Religion, Sir Richard Grosvenor, in a long and able speech, adopted in several places Oliver's very words respecting the preferment of Mainwaring; thereby showing the impression which the speech of the member for Huntingdon had made on his mind. 'For that offence of his,' he said, '*Mainwaring received a just, but moderate censure; one particular was, that he should be disabled for ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the church; and, although it be confessed that the doctor justly brought upon himself the censure of Parliament, yet was this man also, immediately after our rising, released from his imprisonment, reported to have the honour to kiss the king's hand, obtained his pardon in folio [full], was preferred to a rich living, and (if some say true) cherisheth assured hopes of dignity in the church. If these be steps to church preferment, God be merciful to those churches which shall fall under the government and feeding of such a clergy!*'

The premature termination of the Parliament prevented Dr. Beard from being actually brought before the House of Commons; and the same event restored Cromwell himself from the heated atmosphere of St. Stephen's to the fresh air of the country. In the October of the preceding year his uncle Richard Cromwell had died at Ramsey, and left the land he possessed at Huntingdon to Oliver. This consisted of a piece of land called the 'Dovehouse croft,' in the town of Huntingdon; and nineteen acres of arable land in the parish of St. Bennet in Huntingdon, bearing the name of the 'Obitlands,' with other premises. On the 2nd day of July following the close of his parliamentary labours, another child was baptized at St. John's church by the name of 'Elizabeth.' This was Oliver's favourite daughter. We know that he still suffered from the mental struggle which has been described; and is it not possible that the birth of this child may have diverted his thoughts for the time from more painful reflections, such as had obliged him, in the preceding September, to consult Dr. Mayerne; and that the pleasing impression thus created may never have been erased from

his mind? At any rate, the next child was not born till the beginning of the year 1632, and lived only a day; and for seven years and a half Elizabeth Cromwell, her mother and grandmother's namesake, was the youngest child of the family. In the January of 1630 another of Oliver's uncles died, and was buried at Ramsey. This was Sir Philip Cromwell, of Biggin House. He left a large family to share his fortune; so that the worldly position of Oliver was unaffected by this event. On the 15th of July in the same year a new charter was granted to the town of Huntingdon, in which 'Thomas Beard, doctor of divinity, Robert Bernard, Esq^{re}, and Oliver Cromwell, Esq^{re}, burgesses of the borough aforesaid, are appointed, during their several lives, and the longer liver of them, justices to preserve and keep the peace of us, our heirs and successors, within the borough of Huntingdon.* This, we might at once have conjectured, only marks the position which Oliver continued to hold in his father's old neighbourhood; and has nothing whatever to do with political opinions, since we find persons the most opposed to the court frequently, as a matter of course, raised to such positions. A recent most interesting discovery, however, by Mr. John Bruce (communicated to the *Athenæum* journal), places this point beyond all question, and elucidates the whole affair of the charter. I cannot do better than extract the important part of Mr. Bruce's letter.

'The circumstance to which I have now to direct attention has relation to the period in Cromwell's life between 1629 and 1631, which has hitherto been so nearly a blank.

'The state of parties at that time was singular. The government was aggressive, and the popular or country party was consequently conservative. In the affairs of the church, under the direction of Bishops Neale and Laud, and with the sanction of the king, the clergy were everywhere re-introducing the principles and practices of the ante-Reformation period. In the affairs of the state, taxes unsanctioned by parliamentary grant were levied without scruple, and an arbitrary judicial power, unknown to the Constitution,

* Griffith's *Records of Huntingdon*, p. 119, &c. *Addl. MSS.* Brit. Mus. 15,665, pp. 154-5.

was openly exercised at the council-table. In these measures the authorities were supported by all persons who acted on the principle of upholding the powers that be, and such persons were, consequently, officially termed 'loyal:' they were opposed by all those who, under ordinary circumstances, were advocates of progress; but were now driven, by the peculiar conduct of the court, into the position of simply upholding the old Constitution—maintaining the Protestant character of the church, the illegality of taxes unsanctioned by Parliament, and the supremacy of the courts of Westminster Hall.

'In Huntingdon, as elsewhere, this battle—the battle of the age—was vigorously contested. Mr. Barnard was the leader on the one side, and Oliver Cromwell on the other. Cromwell's return to Parliament, in 1628, had been a triumph of the one party—the obtaining of the new charter was a victory of the other. Up to the date of the new charter Huntingdon had been an ancient prescriptive corporation, governed by two bailiffs and a common council of twenty-four inhabitants, freely elected year by year (*Addl. MSS. Brit. Mus.* 15,665, fols. 131-155). Under such a constitution the government of the town was effectually in the hands of the people. The new charter changed the state of things entirely. On pretence of preventing 'popular tumult, and to reduce the elections and other things, and the public business of the said borough, into certainty and constant order,' the old common council was dissolved, and the new charter ordained that the common council should thenceforth consist of a mayor, elected annually out of the aldermen, with a recorder, and twelve aldermen, all elected for life (*ibid*). How such a municipal *coup-d'état* was brought about does not appear. Probability seems to suggest that it had its origin in the influence of Mr. Robert Barnard and the Cromwells of Hinchinbrook[?]²—the latter always in strong opposition to their democratic relative. The government might, of course, be relied on to give its willing aid to effect such an anti-popular revolution, and also to cover with its authority any defect of legality in bringing it about. There may be documents or entries in the municipal books at Huntingdon which may throw light upon this part of the subject.

‘The reception given to the new charter and its close corporation by the disfranchised inhabitants of Huntingdon may be imagined. Of hard words there appear to have been plenty: it is creditable to the influence and management of Cromwell that the popular indignation did not find vent in hard blows. But hard words against persons in authority were looked upon in those days as a very serious offence. The dignity of Mr. Lionel Walden, the new mayor, was hurt by the free comments of Mr. Oliver Cromwell and his associates. Even from under the trappings which outwardly adorned the chief municipal dignitary a wounded spirit made itself manifest. Mayor and aldermen felt themselves objects of contempt; and the circumstance that Mr. Robert Barnard, their leader, and the principal resident gentleman within the jurisdiction of the new corporation, was a sharer with them in the contumely, did not reconcile them to their fate.

‘The privy council was a body to whom the corporate functionaries might safely make an appeal. They did so. A petition was prepared, setting forth ‘the disgraceful and unseemly speeches used unto them.’ One of the first uses they made of the new corporate seal was to attach it to a document which evidenced how much the newly-constituted authorities were held in contempt. The persons complained against were ‘Oliver Cromwell, esquire, and William Kilborne, gentleman.’ The latter was probably a lawyer in Huntingdon. ‘John Kilburn’ was one of the burgesses who signed Oliver Cromwell’s return to Parliament in 1628, and ‘Isaac Kilborne’ was a party, in 1680, to the return to Parliament of, perhaps, a son of the very mayor who was now making his complaint. The Kilburnes were evidently a Huntingdon family, and notices of William may, no doubt, be found in the registers and muniments of the borough.

‘The lords of the council gave ready ear to the petition of the mayor and aldermen, and, according to the usual custom, a council-messenger was despatched with a warrant, directing him to bring up to London the bodies of ‘Oliver Cromwell, esquire, and Willyam Kilborne, gentleman.’

‘The warrant was executed. The hand of the bailiff was laid upon the shoulder of the man in whose name within a few years all warrants were to run; and on the 26th of

November, 1630, the prisoners made their appearance before the privy council. It may be worth while to record the names of the councillors present:—

At Whytehall, the 26th of November, 1630.

Present :

Lorde Keeper	Lorde Visc. Wimbledon.
[Sir Thomas Coventry.]	L. Visc. Dorchest ^r .
L. Tre ^r .	L. Visc. Falkland.
[Lord Weston.]	L. Visc. Grandison.
L. Priue Seale	L. Bp. of London
[Earl of Manchester.]	[Laud.]
Lo. Chamberl.	Mr. Tre ^r .
[Earl of Pembroke.]	[Sir Thomas Edmonds.]
E. of Bridgw th .	Mr. Vice Chamb.
E. of Danby.	[Sir Henry May.]
E. of Kellie.	

Mr. Secretarie Coke.

‘The order made upon the appearance of the culprits stands recorded in the register book of the privy council as follows:—

26 Nov^r 1630.

This day Oliver Crumwell, Esq^r. and Willyam Kilborne, gent., having bene formerly sent for by warrant from the board, tendered their appearances accordingly, w^{ch} for their indempnities is entered in the register of counsell causes. But they are to remain in the custody of the messenger untill they shalbe dismissed by their lpps.

‘Probably out of consideration for the mayor and aldermen of the good town of Huntingdon, who were no doubt in London ready to prosecute their petition, rather than out of any kindness towards the defendants, the hearing was fixed for the 1st of December. I will not attempt to delineate the scene which ensued. The ‘presence’ consisted of the chief of the king’s advisers: their names are thus enumerated on the register:—

At Whytehall, the first of December, 1630.

Present :

Lo. Keeper	Lo. Visc. Wimbledon.
[Sir Thomas Coventry.]	Lo. Visc. Falkland.
Lo. Tre ^r .	Lo. Bp. of London
[Lord Weston.]	[Laud.]
Lo. President.	Lo. Newburgh.
Lo. Priue Seale	Mr. Tre ^r .
[Earl of Manchester.]	[Sir Thomas Edmonds.]
Ea. Marshall	Mr. Vice Chamberlain
[Earl of Arundel.]	[Sir Henry May.]
E. of Danby.	Mr. Sec. Coke.
E. of Kelley.	

‘Analysation of these names would show with how little wisdom England was then attempted to be governed. With the exception of two or three men of average official talent, how small the quantity of real intellect which was congregated here! As a body, how utterly incompetent must such men have been for the task they undertook—to force back the current of the age, and restore the worn-out absolutism of a previous period!

‘If we may judge from the account in the privy council register, the hearing was a deliberate one; and it is highly in favour of the propriety and discreetness of Cromwell’s conduct that he entirely escaped condemnation. With the recollection of the uproar in the House of Commons on the day of dissolution still vivid in their minds, and paltry proceedings in connexion with the members, who were subsequently imprisoned, constantly going on—such questions, for example, as whether Selden should have a boy to wait upon him, or clothes and bedding should be sent to him from his chambers, or whether Sir John Eliot should be allowed to have his linen out of his trunks, and many others—it is not uncharitable to suppose that—if it could have been done on anything like a fair pretence—an opportunity would not have been lost of punishing so conspicuous a member of the opposition as Oliver Cromwell had even then become.

‘It may also be inferred that, on Cromwell’s side, the case was well argued. It was not left to rest on the mere question of hard words raised by the corporation. The whole case respecting the charter was gone into. The result was a reference to arbitration, which is thus entered on the books of the privy council:—

1st Dec^r. 1630.

Whereas a peticon was presented to the board by the major and aldermen of the towne of Huntingdon, complayning against Mr. Crumwell and William Kilborne, whereupon the parties complayned of were sent for by warrant from the board, And both sides having this day had a long hearing, there appeared much contrariety and difference in the allegacons on each side, Whereupon their lpps. thought fitt and ordered, that the examinacon of the whole businesse should bee referred to the Lord Privie Seale, as well touching the charter of the said towne, as alsoe that his lppp. should, in particular, consider what satisfaction were fitt to be given to the said mayor and Mr. Bernard for the disgracefull and unseemly speeches used unto them, and should settle and end the differences amongst them, if it may bee, or otherwise to make report to the board how

the state of these differences stands, together with his opinion touching the same, that such further course may be taken as shall bee fitt. And whereas there was a peticon read with divers complaints therein made against the said Kilburne and Brookes his man for much oppression to the country, and many great abuses to particular persons, It was likewise ordered that the Lord Privie Seale shall take examinacon thereof and make reporte to the board what he finds touching the same.

‘The Lord Privy Seal, to whom the reference was made, was Henry Montagu, the first Earl of Manchester—a plausible, supple lawyer, who had raised himself to high dignities by obsequiousness and a skilful application of his wealth. He is best remembered as the father of Lord Kimbolton—one of the first members whom Charles sought to arrest in the House of Commons, and the Earl of Manchester of the Civil War.

‘The result of his arbitration does not appear. Any alteration of the charter was probably not attempted. Some slight apology from Kilburne would appease the civic magnates.’*

As Dr. Beard’s name has come once more across us, it may be interesting to give a few additional particulars of his life and pursuits. We have seen that he is constantly associated with Oliver, as he had been with his father, in all the affairs of the borough. He is in communication with him during the absence of the new member in London, and, but for the abrupt dissolution, we should have had his name appearing on the *Journals* of the House as a witness to corroborate ‘Mr. Cromwell’s’ statement. He has not been idle during the controversy which agitates England on religious questions, and in this respect his feelings would be in unison with those of his former pupil. In 1625 he was probably in London superintending the publication of a little work which appeared in that year under the title of ‘*Anti-Christ the Pope of Rome; or, the Pope of Rome is Anti-Christ, proved in two Treatises, &c. &c.* ; by Tho^m Beard, doctor in divinity, and preacher of God’s word in Huntingdon.’ The copies of this book purport to be ‘printed by Isaac Taggard for John Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the Three Golden Lyons in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.’ The work is dedicated ‘To the Right

* *Athenæum*, October 13, 1855.

Hon^{ble}. and Right Rev. Father in God John Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England, one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.' John Williams, afterwards elevated to be Archbishop of York, is one of the most singular characters of that age. Utterly deficient in principle, and sometimes in tact, he possessed no little amount of talent; and as his rivalry with Laud, who had been Archdeacon of Huntingdon, caused him to lean, as much as his selfishness would permit, towards the opposite party in the church, his protection was frequently sought by the oppressed Puritans. Oliver himself visited the bishop at his residence at Buckden, and gained from him the character of 'a common spokesman for sectaries,' and one who 'maintained their part with stubbornness.' It would seem the bishop was in some way related to the Cromwells and Hampdens. There is a letter addressed to him in later years by Oliver, in answer to an application of his, which concludes thus: '*Your kinsman* shall be very welcome to me; I shall study to serve him *for kindred's sake*; amongst whom, let not be forgotten, my lord, your *cousin* and servant,' &c.* I should suppose this a mere jesting allusion to their common name of '*Williams*;' but I find in a grave exculpatory letter of the archbishop's, when he was in disgrace, *Hampden* spoken of as his '*kinsman*.'†

To this prelate Dr. Beard, who displays all the marks of an obedient son of the church, assigns two reasons for dedicating the work to him. 'One, that your lordship is a known and renowned *protector of religion* and learning; and a second, because you are my diocesan, and so it is your lordship's right by bond of duty.' Another book of the worthy doctor's was entitled, '*The Theatre of God's Judgments*;' wherein is represented the admirable justice of God against

* Carlyle, vol. i. p. 307. It is not quite correctly printed there. For 'does most conduce to *the* public good thereof,' read, 'to *most* public good,' &c.; for '*on* the occasion of our troubles,' read '*by* the,' &c. 'Your kinsman shall be very welcome,' add 'to me;' and add, as a postscript, 'the governor of Conway will not be forgotten, to prevent his abuse.'

† 'Now, my business with my kinsman, Mr. Hampden,' says the archbishop. —*Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 341 (1848).

all notorious sinners, both great and small, but especially against the most eminent persons of the world, whose transcendent power breaketh thorow the bars of human justice, deduced by the order of the commandments. Collected out of sacred, ecclesiastical, and prophane histories.' This work, 'revised and augmented by the first author thereof,' appeared in a third edition in 1631. It is dedicated to the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Huntingdon, and this dedication supplies us with an interesting fact. 'Whom to,' says the author, 'should I rather dedicate this book, than to you the principal members of this corporation, wherein I have lived *thirty years complete*, and have painfully preached the word of God unto you, and led my life without scandal. But, besides, there are divers causes that moved me to dedicate it unto you: first, *to shew my thankfulness to all those that stood faithfully for me in the late business of the lecture, notwithstanding the opposition of some malignant spirits*. Secondly, that I, being now old, and ready to lay down this earthly tabernacle, might leave some lively monument behind me, that might preach unto you when I am gone. That when ye read this book, you may say, 'Behold, Dr. Beard being dead, still preacheth unto us.' Thirdly, because these judgments related in the book much concern the sins of this town, which, being a thorough-fare, (as all others of that kind,) is subject to many disorders by the baser sort of people. Now, as we see murderers hung upon gibbets, to terrify others from committing the like facts, so here are thousands, as it were, hung upon gibbets, to terrify us from these sins and to bring us to repentance. My last reason why I dedicate it to you, Mr. Mayor, is because you were my scholar, and brought up in my house, which must needs create in me a greater love and affection towards you. Your loving pastor—Tho. Beard.'

The principal point in this dedication which demands our notice is the attempted suppression of Dr. Beard's lectureship in Huntingdon. There has long been a floating story about a lectureship suppressed in that town, which may now be brought to its proper moorings. These lectureships originated in the deficiency and insufficiency of preachers throughout England. This had been complained of at the Hampton-

court Conference of 1603 by the Puritan ministers; but no redress being granted, a scheme was set on foot by Dr. Preston, their leader at this time, to raise a fund to buy in impropriations as they came into the market, and to support ministers by this means where they were wanted. The wealthy merchants and Puritans throughout the kingdom took up the scheme; and the consequence was, that the funds being vested in 'feoffees,' a number of 'lecturers' were secured, generally in deacon's orders, who performed the duties which the regular clergy neglected or performed in a manner at variance with the feelings of the parish at large.* Great jealousy was perhaps not unnaturally felt by the ordinary occupiers of the cures which these 'working' clergymen invaded; and this was increased by the general tone of their preaching, which was Puritan, as under the circumstances might have been expected. They therefore called down the wrath of the higher clergy upon the new institution, and Dr. Laud exerted himself very strongly to suppress the lecturers altogether. Now Noble (in his *Protectoral House of Cromwell*) has extracted a passage from Heylin's *Life of Laud*, according to which the *only* complaint against the ecclesiastical condition of Huntingdonshire, which falls from the lips of Laud on his visitation of that county, is respecting *a lectureship in the town of Huntingdon*, which he desires the king may be disallowed, because the lecturer was removeable by lay persons. To this his Majesty *assented*. This was in 1633. There seems no reason to doubt that this lectureship was the one to which Dr. Beard refers in his dedication;† and if so, it would seem that at first the

* Carlyle, vol. i. pp. 69-70.

† Since writing the above I have discovered among the *Addl. MSS.* in the Brit. Mus. an indenture made March 23rd, in the 22 James I., between the bailiffs and burgesses of the town of Huntingdon, patrons of the Hospital of St. John in Huntingdon, of the one part, and Thomas Beard, doctor in divinity, and master of the said hospital, and Robert Cooke of Huntingdon, gentleman, of the other part, the reciting part of which bears directly on the subject of the lectureship, and explains the clerical opposition to the appointment by lay persons. 'Whereas there is four parish churches within the said town of Huntingdon, the living belonging to the same being so small as none of them are sufficient or convenient to maintain a learned bachelor; by reason whereof all the said parishes and town of Huntingdon were for a long time before the said Thomas Beard became master of the said hospital, utterly destitute of a learned

attempt of Laud had failed, owing to the determined resistance of the inhabitants, and Oliver was doubtless among the most strenuous of Dr. Beard's supporters on this occasion. In the beginning of the year 1632 Dr. Beard died; and his gravestone, according to Mr. Brayley, still remains in the nave of All Saints Church, Huntingdon, bearing evident signs of having been 'a brass,' and having the inscription—'Ego Thomas Beard, Sacræ Theologiæ Professor: In Ecclesiâ Omnium Sanctorum Huntingtoniæ, Verbi Divini Prædicator olim: Jam sanus sum: Obiit Januarii 8°, an. 1631.'* After his death it would seem that Laud succeeded in taking away the lectureship; but another removal a little before that time must have powerfully contributed to this untoward result.

On the 7th of May, 1631, Oliver disposed of most of his property at Huntingdon, his mother, wife, and uncle Sir Oliver joining in the deed of sale. It seems probable that his mother still continued to reside at Huntingdon, from the

preacher to teach and instruct them in the Word of God; but sithence the said Thomas Beard became master of the said hospital, being admitted thereunto by the presentation of the said bailiffs and burgesses, the said Thomas Beard hath not only maintained a grammar school in the said town, according to the foundation of the said hospital, by himself, and a schoolmaster by him provided at his own charges, but hath also been continually resident in the said town, and painfully preached the Word of God in the said town of Huntingdon on the Sabbath-day duly, to the great comfort of the inhabitants of the said town; and the said Thomas Beard, being careful and desirous that some learned preacher may succeed him in the said hospital who may be resident in the said town, and preach there so long as he shall hold the said place, in like manner as the said Thomas Beard hath done and intendeth to do, and maintain also the said school as he hath done, therefore, for the considerations, intents, and purposes aforesaid, and to the end that the said Thomas Beard may provide such a learned preacher to succeed him in the said hospital whenever he shall die or shall think fit to resign his said place and leave the said town for some better preferment, *the said bailiffs and burgesses have by their deed, under their common seal, given, granted, and confirmed unto the said Thomas Beard, his executors and assigns, the next presentation to the said hospital when it shall next become void by any means whatsoever, &c.* And forasmuch as the said Robert Cooke hath a son named Henry Cooke, who is a faithful and learned preacher and minister of God's word, whom both the said Thomas Beard and all or the most part of the inhabitants of the said town do very much like and approve of,' &c. Robert Cooke covenants with the corporation that, if his son is appointed by Dr. Beard, he shall perform the duties in the same manner as the doctor has done, and Dr. Beard covenants to continue his preaching till such time. The first signature in witness is 'Robert Bernard.'—*Addl. MSS. Brit. Mus. 15,665, p. 126.*

* Brayley's *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. vii. p. 354.

circumstance that the children, not only of Oliver but of other branches of her family, were still brought to Huntingdon to be baptized. The description of the property sold, given in the deed, is as follows: 'All the capital messuage called the Augustine Fryers, *alias* Augustine Friers, within the borough or town of Huntingdon, and the messuages, &c., belonging to it; and one close called the Dove-house close; and also all those three cottages or tenements, *with a malt-house*, and a little close by estimation one acre, lying together in Huntingdon aforesaid, theretofore of Edm. Goodwyns; and also all those seven leas of pasture, containing by estimation two acres, called Toothill leas, lying in Huntingdon; and also all those two acres and three roods of meadow lying and being in Brampton, in the said county of Huntingdon, in a meadow there called Portholme; and also all those two acres of meadow in Godmanchester, in the said county of Huntingdon. All the above premises are called, either now, or late, in the possession of Elizabeth Cromwell, widow. And all other the lands and tenements of the said Elizabeth Cromwell, widow, Oliver Cromwell, Esq., or either of them, in Huntingdon, Godmanchester, or Brampton aforesaid, or any of them. And also all the rectory and parsonage of Hartford, in the said county, and the tithes, both great and small, of the same; with all and singular the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof to the late dissolved priory or monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Huntingdon aforesaid, heretofore belonging or appertaining, and being sometime parcel of the possessions thereof.* The sale realized 1800*l.*; and with this sum Oliver 'rented some grazing-lands at St. Ives, five miles down the river. The lands he rented are still recognisable to the tourist; gross boggy lands—part of the Slepe Hall estate—fringed with willow-trees, at the east end of the small town of St. Ives, which is still noted as a cattle-market in those parts.'† Here Oliver remained for the next five

* It will be seen that the 'Obiit lands' are not included in these parcels: as at a later time Oliver is described as 'of Huntingdon,' it is probable that he still retained these, and that his mother had the benefit of their produce during her residence in the borough.

† Carlyle, vol. i. p. 114.

years, quietly following the pursuits which had occupied his father before; taking his share in the local business of St. Ives; not indifferent to the public events which were crowding on one another in rapid succession; but calmly waiting till the opportunity arose when he might again do open service to the cause of religion and his country. There are no particular accounts at all credible of the manner in which he passed his time during this period. Heath speaks of the family being called together every morning to prayer, before stirring out, and continuing so long at this religious exercise, that it was often nine o'clock before they began their work. He adds, that the hinds and ploughmen filled up the rest of the morning in games of cards, a pack of which they had concealed in their pockets; and that after dinner, the best part of the afternoon was filled up by a repetition of some market lecture that had been preached the day before. That the little work that was done, was done so negligently and by halves, that scarce half a crop ever reared itself upon his grounds; so that he was (after five years' time) glad to abandon it, and get a friend of his to be the tenant for the remainder of his time. Heath is certainly one of the most circumstantial liars that ever rushed into print with 'a true and particular account.' It is needless to refute any statements resting solely on such authority as his. Oliver Cromwell might, and probably did, assemble his family and labourers around him to morning prayer; but most assuredly there was no slackness in the after labours of the day where he was the master. We find no traces of any diminution of his property; and we shall soon see there was a different reason for his leaving St. Ives. Another traditionary story is entitled to more credit. The clerk of the parish of St. Ives, described as a very intelligent old man, and much superior to his station (having been bred an attorney), told Mr. Noble, 'that he had been informed by old persons who knew Mr. Cromwell when he resided at St. Ives, that he usually frequented divine service at church, and that he generally came with a piece of red flannel round his neck, as he was subject to an inflammation in his throat.' The appearance which Oliver's countenance presented in later years confirms, in a

great degree, this account, and is to be attributed to the damp, unwholesome air of the Fen-country, which seriously affected his health, and was probably the origin of some serious illnesses with which he was afterwards visited. Oliver, of course, attended the church of St. Ives, for he belonged at this time to the class of Doctrinal Puritans. The vicar of the place also was his old friend Mr. Henry Downhall, to whom the invitation to Richard's christening had been addressed. But there was little sympathy of mind between them; and here, as at Huntingdon, it was found necessary to establish a lectureship to supply the deficiencies of Mr. Downhall's preaching. A letter of Oliver's still exists, addressed 'to my very loving friend Mr. Storie, at the sign of the 'Dog' in the Royal Exchange, London;' which bears the date 'St. Ives, 11th January, 1636,' and runs thus:—

Mr. Storie,—Amongst the catalogue of those good works which your fellow-citizens and our countrymen have done, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feeding of souls. Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies: to build material temples is judged a work of piety; but they that procure spiritual food, *they that build up spiritual temples*, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious. Such a work as this was your erecting the lecture in our country, in the which you placed Dr. Wells, a man of goodness and industry, and ability to do good every way, not short of any I know in England; and I am persuaded that sithence his coming, the Lord hath by him wrought much good among us. It only remains now, that He who first moved you to this, put you forward in the continuance thereof. It was the Lord, and therefore to Him lift we up our hearts that He would perfect it! And, surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thing to see a lecture fall in the hands of so many able and godly men, as I am persuaded the founders of this are—in these times wherein we see they are suppressed with too much haste and violence by the enemies of God his truth. Far be it that so much guilt should stick to your hands, who live in a city so renowned for the clear shining light of the Gospel. You know, Mr. Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the lecture; for 'who goeth to warfare at his own cost?' I beseech you, therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, put it forward, and let the good man have his pay. The souls of God's children will bless you for it; and so shall I, and ever rest—Your loving friend in the Lord,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Commend my hearty love to Mr. Busse, Mr. Beadly, and my other good friends. I would have written to Mr. Busse, but I was loath to trouble him with a long letter, and I feared I should not receive an answer from him. From you I expect one so soon as conveniently you may.—*Vale!**

Of the ultimate fate of this lectureship we know nothing.

* Carlyle, vol. i. pp. 116-7.

Oliver's family remained the same as before ; a son, James, who was baptized on the 8th of January, 1632, dying the day after. Little more can be ascertained as to the events of his residence here, and probably little remains to be told of any importance, with the exception of some circumstances connected with a public question which will soon engage our attention. But it will be well to complete, first, the few memorials which remain of his private life during this country retirement. I have already spoken of Sir Thomas Steward, Oliver's maternal uncle, who resided at Ely. A story has come down to us connected with this Sir Thomas, which is alleged to cast a deep stain on the character of Oliver. Sir William Dugdale, who is the main authority for the accusation, states the occurrence in the following words : ' By his exorbitances at last he so wasted his patrimony, that, having attempted his uncle Steward for a supply of his wants, and finding that, on a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured by colour of law to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it ; but therein he failed.' The story is supposed to be corroborated by a passage in Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, in which the latter is represented (in the year 1645) as saying to King Charles, respecting Oliver, ' Your majesty did him but justice in refusing his petition against Sir Thomas Steward of the Isle of Ely ; but he takes them all for his enemies that would not let him undo his best friend.' On the other hand, we have to explain, consistently with the above statements, the following extract from the will of Sir Thomas Steward, made immediately before his death in January, 1636 : ' He gives to his sister Elizabeth Cromwell, widow, an annuity of 30*l.*, which he charges upon his manor of Bernes, or Barnes, and other his freehold messuages and lands in Elme and Emmett, within the Isle of Ely, and in the county of Norfolk. The manor of Barnes, subject to 10*l.* annuity, is devised in trust to pay debts and legacies, *with remainder to his nephew Oliver Cromwell in fee* : and also a variety of leases of lands, and the rectory of the Holy Trinity, and the Blessed Mary the Virgin, in the town of Ely, and the chapel

of Cheltisham, with all their rights, to *Humphrey Steward, Esqr.*, in trust for payment of debts and legacies, and afterwards to his nephew, *Oliver Cromwell*, saving the remainder of their several terms. Among other legacies, he gives to the poor of Ely workhouse 20*l.*, and to the eldest son of his nephew *Oliver Cromwell*, 5*l.* Sir Thomas also mentions that his father, *William Steward, Esq.*, by his will entailed several messuages and lands in Ely, &c., with several remainders; and it having pleased God to give him no male issue, he had neglected to cut off the entail, out of special affection to the persons in remainder, though, by such a conduct, he had omitted and lost such advantages as he might have had by the laws of the realm.'

It seems from this document, that, whatever the circumstances really were which attended Oliver's petition (if there ever was such a petition), his conduct had not been such as to alienate the good-will of Sir Thomas, for any length of time at least. Hence arises also the dilemma which has been well put by Mr. Carlyle: 'If Sir Thomas was imbecile, then Oliver was right; and unless Sir Thomas was imbecile, Oliver was not wrong!' But, independently of considerations arising from the estimate we may form of Oliver's character from other less doubtful sources, the whole story is evidently based on the supposition of Oliver's having run through his paternal estate, which, from the deed of sale quoted just before, we see is utterly groundless. It is very probable, however, that the story is a perverted version of some real fact, though we are unable to discover what this was. I am inclined to connect it with the question of cutting off the entail alluded to in the last part of Sir Thomas' will. As it is, however, we must rest satisfied with the judgment which the only certain authority in the case, Sir Thomas' will, passes on the question. It is something that this speaks so decidedly in Oliver's favour.*

Sir Thomas Steward died in the month of January, 1636,

* 'There is a discrepancy in the story itself, for it is said to have occurred soon after Cromwell's return to Huntingdon, and Charles is made the king, who did not become so until several years later.'—*Westminster Review*, O. S. (1839-40) vol. xxxiii. p. 192.

surviving his wife only a few days. Noble makes the date of his *will* January 29th, and of his *burial* in the cathedral church of Ely, *the following day!* Probably there is some error in copying from the registers, or some misprint. Oliver seems to have at once removed to Ely, and succeeded to his uncle's farming of the tithes. At least we have an acquittance, dated by him 'Ely, 10th June, 1636.' Here the family remained till the year 1647, his mother, after a time, quitting Huntingdon, and joining the circle at Ely. His residence was the glebe house near St. Mary's churchyard, which from a later occupant took the name of Mr. Page's house, and still remains as an ale-house; in what condition may be seen by the views of it given in the third edition of Mr. Carlyle's *Letters of Cromwell*. 'Likely enough his grandfather may have lived here, his mother having been born here. She is now again resident here. The tomb of her first husband and child, *Johannes Lynne*, and poor little *Catharina Lynne*, is in the cathedral hard by!'

In Ely Oliver took, as at St. Ives, an active part in the concerns of the little city, filling his uncle's place in the charities and other institutions. In the records of one of these, then called the 'Ely Fcoffees Fund,' now 'Parsons' Charity,' his name frequently occurs. It appears that the charity had been remodelled by a new royal charter, shortly before Oliver's arrival, and was to be, henceforth, more specially devoted to the poor of Ely; and to be governed by twelve feoffees—namely, by three dignitaries of the cathedral, and by nine townsmen of the better sort, who are permanent, and fill up their own vacancies. Of this latter class Oliver was straightway made one. The only entry at all worthy of remembrance in which his name occurs, is a short note from him to Mr. John Hand, one of the collectors of the revenues of the charity, dated September 13th, 1638, which is as follows: 'Mr. Hand, I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your money. I desire you to deliver forty shillings of the town money to this bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the gentlemen will not

* Carlyle.

allow it at the time of account, keep this note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.' Other entries occur in the books of payments to Benson, who, it seems, was an old invalid. The note shows at least a kindly feeling, and so far is valuable.

The Dean and Chapter of Ely, on October the 20th, 1636, renewed Oliver's lease for twenty-one years of the tithes of the parishes of Trinity and St. Mary; and the 27th of October, in the year following, granted to him, jointly with the bishop of that see, William March, and others, feoffees, a lease of Denver's holt, near Stuntney. On the 29th of October, in the next year, he received from the dean and chapter two leases, one of Mullicourt manor, the other of Beele closes, each for twenty-one years. His family still increased around him. A daughter, Mary, was baptized at *Huntingdon* on the 9th of February, 1637. Another daughter, Frances, the youngest of his children, was baptized at *Ely*, December 6th, 1638. Between these two baptisms, then, we must probably date the removal of Oliver's mother to his Ely residence. Another of her daughters, Jane, was married to the celebrated John Disbrowe, or Desborough, Esq., on the 23rd of June, 1636; and she probably felt lonely at *Huntingdon*. Three other daughters we know were already married; probably two more—Katharine (the next child before Oliver in order of birth) to Roger Whitstone, Esq., of Whittlesea mere, and Anna (who follows Margaret Walton in the family list) to John Sewster, Esq., of Wistow, in Huntingdonshire. There would, then, remain only two unmarried daughters—Elizabeth (the second child), who is supposed to have died unmarried at Ely in 1672; and Robina (the youngest of the family), who eventually married Dr. Peter French, and afterwards Dr. John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, and whose daughter by Dr. Wilkins was married to Archbishop Tillotson. Thenceforward Oliver's mother never separated from his family, watching with deep anxiety the vicissitudes of his fortunes, and extorting, even from his bitterest enemies, the meed of warm admiration and praise.

Great public events, however, now occupied the attention of every Englishman; and Oliver Cromwell could not have

been an uninterested spectator of the great ship-money case, in which his cousin John Hampden gained such an immortal reputation, and in which another rising statesman connected with him by marriage, Oliver St. John, distinguished himself as an advocate for the defendant. The date of the refusal of Hampden to pay the ship-money is the same with that of the letter addressed by Cromwell to Mr. Storie; so that the two kinsmen were each engaged at the same time in appropriate acts of public importance. Oliver himself is also said to have refused to pay the same tax; which statement (resting on hostile authority) is not at all unlikely, taking into consideration his character and his connexion with Hampden. Many, we know, refused to pay, and were distrained upon for the amount. When they would, like Hampden, have brought the point to a trial, they were not allowed to do so. But, however this may have been, not very long after the decision in the ship-money, Oliver was called upon to take a leading part against one of the royal acts of tyranny. As this transaction has been much misrepresented, and a charge made against Cromwell of obtaining a factitious popularity at the expense of the public good, it will be necessary to enter somewhat minutely into the circumstances of the case.

Sir Philip Warwick tells us: 'The Earl of Bedford and divers of the principal gentlemen whose habitations confined upon the Fens, and who in the heat of summer saw vast quantities of lands which the fresh waters overflowed in the winter, lie dry, or green, or drainable—whether it was public spirit or private advantage which led them thereunto, a stranger cannot determine—they make propositions unto the king to issue out commissions of sewers to drain those lands, and offer a proportion freely to be given to the crown for its countenance and authority therein; and as all these great and public works must necessarily concern multitudes of persons, who will never think they will have exact justice done to them for that small pretence of right they have unto some commons, so the commissioners, let them do what they can, could never satisfy such a body of men. And now the king is declared the principal undertaker for the draining; and by this time the vulgar are grown clamorous against these first

popular lords and undertakers who had joined with the king in the second undertaking, though they had much better provisions for them than their interest was ever before, and the commissioners must by multitudes and clamours be withstood; and as a head of this faction, Mr. Cromwell, in the year 1638, at Huntingdon, appears, which made his activity so well known unto his friend and kinsman Mr. Hampden, that he in this [the Long] Parliament gave a character of Cromwell of being an active person, and one that would sit well at the mark !'* Having stated the accusation, what do we find to be the real facts of the case?†

'The *Great Level* of the Fens, extending over parts of the counties of Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk, includes nearly 400,000 acres. The chief part of this extensive tract appears, from the various phenomena noticed by different authors, to have been formerly a dry and cultivated land; but either through injudicious embankments, which prevented the waters from the uplands issuing at their proper outfalls, or from sudden and violent convulsions of nature, it was reduced to the state of a morass; where the waters stagnating, and becoming putrid, filled the air with noxious exhalations; and not only destroyed the health of the inhabitants, but likewise impeded their endeavours to obtain necessaries, the country being almost rendered impassable even to boats, by the sedge, reeds, and slime with which it was covered. That this vast level was at first a firm, dry land, and not annoyed with any extraordinary inundation by the sea, or stagnation of fresh waters, though the surface was originally much lower than it is at present, is evident from the quantity of trees that have been found buried in different parts of the Fens, and also from a variety of other circumstances. The reign of Elizabeth may be properly fixed on as the period when the Great Level began to become imme-

* *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 277.

† A writer in modern times (Brayley, *Beauties of England and Wales*) has given a summary of the events which led to this drainage dispute, from which I have quoted such portions as, on reference to the sources of his information, appear to be correct. The remainder of this version of facts which affects immediately the character of Oliver Cromwell, I have derived from a careful examination and comparison of contemporary pamphlets.

diately a public care. But though a commission was granted, and an act of Parliament granted to carry out the great object of draining them, nothing was done in her reign. In the beginning of the next, Sir John Popham, the chief justice, procured an act for draining the fens in the Isle of Ely and the lands in the adjacent counties ; but, though the work was commenced with great spirit, it afterwards, on his death, dropped, owing to the opposition of some landowners. The next persons who attempted to proceed with this important undertaking, were the Earl of Arundel, Sir William Ayloff, Bart., and Anthony Thomas, Esq. ; but their proposals not being agreeable to those who acted as commissioners on behalf of the proprietors, and much time having been lost by the meetings held to determine the contested points, the king himself resolved to become adventurer, and actually undertook the herculean labour of draining the Fens, on condition of receiving 120,000 acres as a remuneration when the work was completed. This agreement was carried into a law ; and here the design terminated,' as might be expected in any such undertaking on the part of King James ! ' In the sixth of Charles I. Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, a Hollander, in a contract with the Commissioners of Sewers, engaged to drain the Fens on condition that 90,000 acres of land, when drained, should be transferred to him. This agreement would probably have been executed ; but when Vermuyden had surveyed the level, and made drawings of the works that were necessary, he appears to have thought the reward insufficient, and demanded an additional allotment of 5000 acres. This proposal was rejected ; more from the prejudices that prevailed against him as a foreigner, than from any supposition that his demands were extravagant.' The idea seems to have been that, as he was a Dutchman, he might avail himself of his knowledge of the construction of the works to do some injury to the exposed eastern counties in case of a war with Holland. There would, however, appear to have been a strong desire among the landholders of the Fen district to have the undertaking carried out ; for on the 13th of January, 1631, the commissioners, at a meeting held at Lynn, and, as it was understood (though this was afterwards disputed), with the consent

of the parties whose property would be affected, entered into an engagement with Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford (who had large possessions in the Fens, through the grant to his ancestors of Thorney Abbey and its appurtenances), upon the same terms of 95,000 acres. Before the commencement of the work, to which the earl is said to have been strongly solicited, thirteen gentlemen, of high rank and respectability, offered to become joint adventurers with him; and their proposals being accepted, on the 27th of February, 1632, the undertaking was entered upon. In the year 1634 the king granted the adventurers a charter of incorporation, 12,000 acres being assigned to him as an equivalent. One of the shareholders in this 'corporation' was Oliver St. John, by assignment from Sir Miles Sandys. On the 13th of January, 1637, the commissioners at Peterborough *adjudged that the Level was drained*, and on October 12th in the same year, accompanied by the king's surveyor, they attended at St. Ives to set out the allotments to the adventurers. A great part of the acres was actually divided, and some of the adventurers had possession of parts of their proportions; but they had no conveyances, and received but little rent. Up to this time the adventurers had disbursed upwards of 123,000*l.* Now, however, the king's necessities being great, after the difficulty experienced in collecting ship-money, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, who was greatly dissatisfied at having the project taken out of his hands, gained access to Charles through Secretary Windebanke, and informed the king that above 100,000*l.*, expended by the earl and his colleagues, was misspent, the Fens being little or nothing the better; and that the Great Level, being made winter grounds, would be worth 600,000*l.* per annum and upwards, *and be a great and certain revenue to all the parties interested.* Charles, being greatly encouraged by this account, appointed new commissioners, who were empowered to examine into the utility of the measures executed by the earl. As the acres assigned to the adventurers were to be taken from fenny districts, portions of which in their undrained state were within the estates of private individuals, and over the greater part of which commonage had been enjoyed by the neighbourhood, it is not at all surprising that considerable

discontent arose in various quarters, and that complaints of a monopoly and the loss of their rights of pasturage, fishing, &c., without any counterbalancing advantage, were frequent. The adherents of the court fanned these discontents; and Sir John Maynard, at that time a courtier, afterwards a Presbyterian leader, took a conspicuous part in instigating the malcontents. The new commissioners called a 'Sewers Court' at Huntingdon on the 18th day of July, 1638, and there declared that the works were incomplete; and accepted the king's proposal to undertake the drainage of the Fens, for which he was to receive not only the 95,000 acres, but also 57,000 additional! Of course the earl and his fellow-adventurers were highly indignant at this royal act of rapacity, and St. John and Holborne (names now well known as Hampden's two counsel in the ship-money argument, and the former personally interested in this case) appeared before the commissioners on two several days, and took various exceptions to the proceedings, arguing at large against the conduct of the commission.

The commonalty were equally aggrieved; for by the new works they were shut out for another indefinite time, both from their rights of commonage and from any benefit from the drainage in the shape of recovered land. It appears that Oliver Cromwell came forward in their behalf, representing their case, and turning that current of popular opinion against the king's undertaking which had been created in order to facilitate his illegal proceedings; so that the commissioners, afraid of meeting the opposition of the whole of the parties, made an order to permit the landholders to take the profits of their lands, and to the generality granted common of pasture over the whole of the acreage (except the 12,000 already given to the king) until the drainage should be adjudged to be completed. They were not, however, to pull down or deface any mounds, fences, or draining without due proof made, and a special order of the court in that behalf. At the same time, 40,000 acres, tax-free, were adjudged to be allowed to the original undertakers, as a recompence for their expenses. Both these concessions, without much doubt, were owing to the skilful opposition of

Oliver. It is said that he gained the name of 'the Lord of the Fens,' for the great benefit which he thus extorted from the royal commissioners; but it is probable that this name was given him at a somewhat later period, when, as we shall see, he successfully protected the commoners of the Fen district from the attempts which persons acting under grants from the king made to infringe the rights of entry secured at this meeting at Huntingdon.

Vermuyden, having succeeded in his first attempt, now persuaded the king to entrust him with the management of the works. He is accused of misspending at least 16,000*l.* out of 23,500*l.* placed at his disposal, and of having wasted hundreds of acres, 'skimming the top thereof to make counterfeited banks, without giving the owners thereof any satisfaction for them.' It was also said that 'Lynn and the town and university of Cambridge would sustain extreme disadvantage by the loss of their navigation, if the design he laid down were carried out. That, besides the loss of the navigation, the river Ouse, being filled with silt or sand from Salter's Load to Harrymer, *would extremely hinder the passage of that clear stream which glideth through Cambridge town, commonly called Grant*, so that it would not be kept in the ancient channel, but would overrun not only the meadows and low lands on either side the river (already subject to inundation), but would certainly drown a great part of Cambridge town; nay, some of the colleges would (in a forward winter) be subject to old Grant's displeasure.'

There seems to have been great popular opposition to this plan; and little was effected when the king in 1641 abandoned the undertaking. 'The whole affair was brought before the notice of the Long Parliament; but nothing was done, owing to the unsettled state of the country, until 1649, when an act was passed restoring William, the then Earl of Bedford, to all the rights of his father. The works which had fallen to decay were repaired, and new channels made, with so much propriety, in the opinion of the commissioners, that on the 25th of March, in the year 1653, the level was adjudged to be fully drained, and the 95,000 acres awarded to the earl and his participants; the latter of whom were nearly ruined by

the expense of draining, which amounted to 400,000*l.* In the 15th of the reign of Charles II. the former act was confirmed in its most essential clauses; and a corporation, consisting of a governor, six bailiffs, twenty conservators, and commonalty was established, under the title of 'Conservators of the Great Level of the Fens,' for its better government. These commissioners were empowered to levy taxes on the 95,000 acres, to defray whatever expenses might arise in their preservation; *but only 83,000 acres were vested in the corporation, in trust for the Earl of Bedford and his associates. The remaining 12,000, having been allotted to Charles I., in pursuance of the agreement made in 1634, were now assigned to the king, with the exception of 2000 acres, which had been granted to the Earl of Portland.'*

The origin of the misrepresentation of the conduct of Cromwell will now be seen. He cannot justly be accused of opposing the drainage of the Fens, since that had been declared to be accomplished in 1637. If he had wished to gain a false popularity, he would have come forward in 1632 or 1634, or in the subsequent years during which the drainage was going on. The only part he took was in ameliorating the decree of the royal commissioners in 1638, so as to secure some advantages to the commonalty and the original adventurers. His own loss by the appropriated allotments would only have amounted to thirty-five poles of a swamp near Ely, called 'Boatsgangs.' His father and his uncle Sir Oliver had petitioned for the drainage: his cousin Oliver St. John was one of the adventurers; and if he had suffered the loss of his money through Oliver Cromwell's means in July, 1638, should we have had the friendly intercourse between them which is implied by the letter to St. John's wife in the October of the same year? Besides, the Earl of Bedford was on intimate terms of friendship with Hampden and Pym; and the former seems to have alluded to the conduct of Oliver in the affair with approbation. As to the alleged inconsistency of his subsequent conduct, the act of 1649, which *Lieutenant-General Cromwell* supported, merely carried into effect the ends defeated by the royal commission of 1638, which *Mr. Oliver Cromwell* opposed; and secured the repair

of those dilapidations in the works which but for that *royal* interference would never have taken place.

Another story which is told respecting Oliver during this period we are able completely to refute; and as it bears on the question of his moral courage and perseverance, it is worthy of notice. It is said that, in despair at the state of public affairs, he contemplated abandoning his native land and seeking a home in the wilds of New England. It is also said that Hampden, Pym, and Sir Arthur Hesilrige were the intended companions of his voyage.—Hampden, in the midst of his ship-money renown!—Pym without having brought to account the apostate Wentworth! This is incredible enough; but we are told that they all actually, with many other Puritans, embarked on the Thames, in eight vessels, and were only arrested in their intended voyage by an order of the council, which on the 1st of May, 1638, laid an embargo on the ships. What are we to say to the ‘Lord of the Fens’ abandoning England in the midst of his struggle against royal rapacity? and how are we to reconcile his presence in May on the Thames, and the previous preparations for his voyage, with the great meeting at Huntingdon? Besides, as Mr. Forster has pointed out, on the ‘Humble petition of the merchants, *passengers*, and owners’ of the detained ships, they were released from their restraint, and allowed to proceed on their voyage. Are we to suppose the eminent men above named so fickle and irresolute as to have abandoned the enterprise on the occurrence of the first obstacle? Besides, we have seen that Oliver obtained the renewal of leases—one for twenty-one years—and the grant of a new one just before this supposed abandonment of his interest in England. The whole story is evidently the result of a lively imagination acting on the simple fact that *some* Puritan families did embark for New England in 1638, and were detained by the king’s orders. Why might not some of the great leaders in the subsequent contest have been of the number of these passengers? And, if so, what judicial blindness on the part of Charles to have detained them! Names are easily added, when the story gets to this stage.

Oliver’s eldest sons are said to have been educated at

Felsted school, near the residence of their maternal grandfather Sir James Bouchier. At Otes, in the immediate vicinity, was the seat of Sir William Masham, baronet; a name recalling that of John Locke, who was on the most intimate terms with the descendants of the family, and lies buried at the church of High Laver, close to the former site of the Mashams' manor-house. Sir William Masham was married to a cousin of Oliver Cromwell's—Elizabeth, fifth child of Sir Francis Barrington. She was the widow of Sir James Altham, of Markeshall in Essex. Sir William continued to the end of his life Cromwell's cordial friend, rising into some of the highest posts in the state. There is a reference in a letter from Oliver to kindness on the part of Sir William to one of his sons, which the recent discovery respecting young Robert renders doubly interesting. The letter in question is the one from which we have had already occasion to make a long extract, illustrating so remarkably the state of Cromwell's mind at this period. His correspondent is a cousin, the wife of Oliver St. John. But it is difficult to fix with certainty on the lady, as St. John married successively *two* cousins of Cromwell; first, Joanna, the daughter of Lady Masham by her first husband; and, secondly, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Henry Cromwell, esquire, of Upwood (Oliver's uncle). As we have not the date of the second marriage, or of the death of Joanna St. John, we are left to conjecture as to which was the wife of Oliver St. John in 1638.*

It would seem, from this letter, that between Oliver Crom-

* Elizabeth Cromwell would not then have completed her twenty-second year, and the footing on which the correspondents evidently stand seems to imply a much older person. It would also appear probable that a daughter of Lady Masham's would be the visitor at Sir William's. On the other hand, we might, perhaps, in that case, expect a more direct allusion to the relationship; and there is another little point to be noticed: Henry Cromwell died in October, 1630, and having lost both his sons, he left Upwood to his nephew Henry, son of Sir Philip, on condition of the payment by him of certain sums to his daughters. This would leave Elizabeth Cromwell (then not quite fourteen years of age) without a home. Did she take up her residence with her cousin, Lady Masham; and was it there that, on the death of his first wife, Oliver St. John wooed and won her? This may be the meaning of the expression, 'that family, whereof you are *yet* a member.'

well and his cousin Mrs. St. John there was a frequent interchange of the most private thoughts. Between the two Oliver's there appears to have remained, for some time at least, if not always, a good understanding in the trying circumstances of their eventful lives. Philosophical historians may have travelled too far in their researches for a reason of the intimacy of two persons so different as Cromwell and St. John. Was not the high-minded cousin, into whose willing ear the former poured his mental struggles with the certainty of their being appreciated, a link strong enough to bind together two such intellects as theirs? The concluding part of the letter to Mrs. St. John (dated from Ely, on the 13th of October, 1638) is as follows: 'Salute all my friends in that family whereof you are yet a member. I am much bound unto them for their love. I bless the Lord for them, *and that my son, by their procurement, is so well.* Let him have *your* prayers, *your* counsel; let me have them. Salute your husband and sister from me. He is not a man of his word! He promised to write about Mr. Wroth of Epping, but as yet I receive no letters: put him in mind to do what with conveniency may be done for the poor cousin I did solicit him about. Once more, farewell! The Lord be with you; so prayeth your truly loving cousin OLIVER CROMWELL.—My wife's service and love presented to all her friends.* The letter is addressed 'To my beloved cousin Mrs. St. John, at Sir William Masham his house called Otes, in Essex, present these.'

Until the year 1856 the 'son' alluded to in this letter has been generally supposed to be either Oliver or Richard, biographers of Cromwell having adopted Noble's conclusion that, because nothing was known of Robert, the eldest son, beyond the date of his baptism, he died *in infancy*.† Noble

* Given in Carlyle (vol. i. pp. 127-8), with the omission of the postscript.

† I had myself seen that this inference was a hasty one, and accordingly modified the expression from 'infancy' to 'youth,' suggesting at the same time that the words of Cromwell on his deathbed had reference to this Robert. I was induced, however, to drop the latter supposition by the note supplied to Mr. Carlyle respecting the death of young Oliver just before Marston Moor (in the disputed 'Squire Papers,' *Fraser's Magazine*, December, 1847). 'Meet-

tells us, indeed, that there is no entry of his burial at Huntingdon, and thus prepares us for the following decisive evidence on the subject, which also affords remarkable testimony to the position which Oliver Cromwell had already acquired by his conduct in the Fens business.

‘In the register of burials at the parish church of Felsted, under the year 1639, is the following entry: ‘Robertus Cromwell filius honorandi viri Mth Oliveris Cromwell et Elizabethæ uxoris ejus sepultus fuit 31^o die Maii. Et Robertus fuit eximiè pius juvenis Deum timens supra multos.’ Which remarkable addition to a simple mention of burial we need hardly point out as of the rarest occurrence on that most formal of all the pages of history—a leaf of a parish register,—where to be born and to die is all that can ever be conceded to either rich or poor. The friend who examined the original forms could find no other instance in the volume of a deviation from the strict rule. Among all the fathers, sons, and brothers crowded into its records of birth and death, the only *vir honorandus* is the Puritan squire of Huntingdon. The name of the Vicar of Felsted in 1639 was Wharton; this entry is in his handwriting, and has his signature appended to it.’* It was, then, to this remarkable youth, who died in the eighteenth year of his age,† that his father alluded just before his own death. ‘At Hampton Court,’ records Harvey, groom of his bedchamber, ‘a few days after the death of the Lady Elizabeth,’ his favourite daughter, ‘which touched him nearly, being then himself under bodily distempers, forerunners of that sickness which was to death, and in his bedchamber, he called for his Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there with others present, to read unto him that passage in Philippians fourth [11, 12, 13], ‘Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know

ing Colonel Cromwell again, just on the edge of Marston Moor, I thought he looked sad and wearied, for he had had a sad loss; young Oliver got killed to death not long before, I heard. It was near Knareborough; and thirty more got killed.’

* *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1856.

† Not ‘nineteenth,’ as the *Edinburgh Reviewer* says.

both how to be abased, and I know how to abound : every where, and in all things, I am instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.' Which read, said he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them : '*This Scripture did once save my life, when my eldest son died, which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did.*' And then repeating the words of the text himself, and reading the tenth and eleventh verses of Paul's contentation and submission to the will of God in all conditions, said he : 'It's true, Paul, *you* have learned this, and attained to this measure of grace ; but what shall *I* do ! Ah, poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out ! I find it so !' But, reading on to the thirteenth verse, where Paul saith, 'I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me,' then faith began to work, and his heart to find support and comfort, and he said thus to himself : 'He that was Paul's Christ is my Christ too !' And so drew waters out of the well of salvation.' It is to this dearly prized son also that Cromwell probably alludes, and not to young Oliver, in the letter addressed by him to his brother-in-law Colonel Valentine Walton, communicating to him the death of *his* eldest son at the battle of Marston Moor.

'Dear Sir,' commences this truly noble letter,* 'it is our duty to sympathize in all mercies, and to praise the Lord together in chastisements or trials, that so we may sorrow together. Truly, England and the church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord, in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war began.' Having briefly touched on the special success of the 'godly party' in the fight, and its main features, the writer exclaims : 'Give glory, all the glory, to God'—and then, with merciful abruptness, passes to the private sorrow : 'Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannot-shot : it brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off ; whereof he died. Sir, *you know my own trials this way, but the Lord supported me with this, that the Lord took him into the happiness*

* Carlyle, vol. i. pp. 207-8.

we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Truly, he was exceedingly beloved in the army of all that knew him; but few knew him, for he was a precious young man, fit for God. You have cause to bless the Lord. He is a glorious saint in heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow, seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a *truth*. *You may do all things by the strength of Christ.* Seek that, and you shall easily bear your trial. *Let this public mercy to the church of God make you to forget your private sorrow.* The Lord be your strength, so prays your truly faithful and loving brother.' From these last sentences we gather the reason of the priority given in the letter to the news of the battle over the death of young Walton. Cromwell was well-enough read in the human heart, and had learned enough from his own personal experience to be aware that, to possess its due counter-weight, when the first shock had passed away, the public success must be allowed to produce for the moment an undivided impression on the mind of the zealous Puritan. Had the narration of the private grief preceded, how coldly and mockingly would the subsequent words of public triumph have fallen on his ears, and with how much weakened force would they have recurred to his recollection. The death of his son Robert seems to have also suggested some expressions in a letter written by Cromwell, several years afterwards, to his friend Lord Wharton, on the birth of a son and heir, where he says: 'My lord, I rejoice in your particular mercy; I hope that it is so to you. If so, it shall not hurt you; not make you plot or shift for the young baron to make him great. *You will say, 'He is God's to dispose of, and guide for,' and there you will leave him.*'*

* Carlyle, vol. i. pp. 388-9. It is the usual and proper thing here to observe on the probable fate of the house of Cromwell if the elder brother of Richard Cromwell had survived. It has also become a custom to say something on these occasions disrespectful of the said Richard. I prefer referring the reader to a letter of his, which lies entombed in Dr. Harris' volumes (ed. 1814, Appendix

Public duties, however, once more summoned Cromwell from this private sorrow ; and he probably gladly obeyed the call. The parliamentary interregnum was at an end, and the writs had been issued by Charles for his fourth Parliament. The following entry in the common day-book of the corporation of Cambridge shows the return which they made for that ancient borough : ‘ 25 March, 1640, Thomas French, gen., Maior. This day the greatest part of the burgesses of this town being present at the Guildhall, have chosen for burgesses, for the next ensuing Parliament, for this town, THOMAS MEAUTYS, Esq^r, and OLIVER CROMWELL, Esq^r.’ Thomas Meautys was, perhaps, the son of that Sir Thomas Meautys who was secretary to Lord Bacon. He had sat in previous Parliaments for Cambridge ; and, from the dedication to a curious little volume published in 1627,* he seems to have been then, at any rate, ‘ Clerk of his Majesty’s Most Honourable Privy Council.’ The representation, therefore, of the town of Cambridge was probably in this Parliament divided between what we should now call a Ministerialist, and a member of the Opposition, or, in the language of that day, a ‘ Courtier ’ and a ‘ Puritan.’

Various reasons have been assigned for Oliver’s change of seat from Huntingdon to Cambridge. It is alleged by some that his uncle Sir Oliver’s interest proved too strong for his re-election for his native town. But Sir Oliver’s interest at Huntingdon must have greatly decayed with his declining fortunes ; and it is not likely that it was then sufficient to throw out of the representation one who had recently achieved such great popularity in the district. The change in the constitution of the corporation might have been a more probable cause ; but, as we find two Puritans returned for the borough, the opposition to Oliver would have been personal (from the mayor and his partisans) rather than political. The reason seems to have been that the Montagues, who had succeeded

to *Life of Charles II.*), and which, if it had been the only memorial we possessed of Richard Cromwell, might have given rise to surmises respecting him similar to those indulged in with regard to his brothers. Whatever might have been the case with Robert, I do not believe that *Henry* Cromwell would have been able to maintain himself at the head of the State.

* *The Attorney’s Almanacke Provided and Desired* : by Thos. Powell.

to the local influence of the Cromwell family, wished to return another member of their family as a representative, and Oliver would, in that case, probably retire, if he had any offer of election elsewhere. Such an offer appears to have been made him by the electors of the town of Cambridge; to whom, it is not unlikely, that some opposition on his part to Sir Cornelius Vermuyden's plan for draining the Fens, which, it has been seen, was considered dangerous to the prosperity of Cambridge, recommended him as a fit candidate. At any rate, he must have been well-known among them by his family connexions, which were scattered all over the neighbouring country. There is a long and very circumstantial story in Heath about the manner in which he became known to the Cambridge townspeople; but the composer of this valuable contribution to history has confounded the two Parliaments which were called in 1640.

During the short-lived Parliament of April we have no record of any special part taken by Cromwell. He with the rest was dismissed by the king on the 5th of May following. The interval of repose was, however, brief; for in a few months Charles found it necessary to send out fresh writs, which had the effect of calling together the memorable LONG PARLIAMENT. In the elections the struggle between the Court and Puritan parties all over the country was most severe, and the exertions of the leaders on both sides proportionably great. One instance of the conflict of the two interests is presented by the election for the town of Cambridge. In the common day-book of the corporation we find the following entry, under the 14th day of October, 1640, 'This day a letter was read, that was sent from the Right Honourable John Lord Finch, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and High Steward of this town, the tenor whereof is as follows:—

*To my very loving Friends Mr. Mayor of Cambridge, Aldermen his Brethren,
and the rest of the Corporation.*

After my very hearty commendations unto you, I must, in the first place, give you many thanks for that expression of your love and respect unto me which I found at my being with you. And I shall pray you to rest assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting whereby I may give you assurance how ready I shall ever be to requite your love with my endeavours for the good of your corporation upon all occasions. It hath pleased his Majesty to summon a

Parliament to be holden at Westminster the third of November, and I hope it will be a happy one. The last Parliament I recommended unto you my cousin and friend Mr. Thomas Meautys, in whom I always found ability and affection to serve you : him I shall, this time also, desire you (the rather for my sake) to make choice of again for one of the burgesses. If you choose with him any stranger, I build so much upon your loves, that I shall recommend unto you my brother Sir Nathaniel Finch, knight, his Majesty's sergeant-at-law, for whose care of you and affection to do you any service I will undertake. But my meaning is not that for choice of him you should p'termit my cousin Meautys, or any of your corporation whom you should have a desire to elect, but only in case that with my cousin Meautys you join a stranger. And in this, as in all things, I shall set this limit to my desires and requests unto you, that it be without any inconvenience to yourselves or your corporation. The bearer hereof brings with him the writ to the sheriff of Cambridgeshire, from whom the warrant is to come, both to the university and to you, of which I thought fit to give you timely notice. And so, with the remembrance of my hearty love unto you—I rest, your very loving and assured friend,

JO. FINCH, S.*

York, 2nd October, 1640.

The Lord-Keeper seems to have been very unlucky in his election canvass, for from the following entry it appears that both his candidates were rejected : 'October 27th, 1640—Magister Robson, Maior. This day the greatest part of the burgesses of this town being present in the hall, have chosen for burgesses of the next ensuing Parliament for this town OLIVER CROMWELL, Esq., and JOHN LOWRY, of the common council, or 24.'

I will now give the story to which I alluded, concerning the manner in which Oliver procured his election for Cambridge, and the reader will at once estimate its credibility. 'Whilst Oliver continued at Ely there were discourses of new writs issuing out for the Parliament in 1640; and about the same time, or a little before, it was the hap of one *Richard Tymes*, since alderman of Cambridge, and a man generally known throughout all the late times, having sat in all the juntoes thereof, to be at a conventicle (as he usually every Sunday rode to the Isle of Ely to that purpose, having a brother who entertained them in his course), where he heard this Oliver with such admiration that he thought there was not such a precious man in the nation, and took such a liking to him, that from

* Given in Oliver Cromwell's *Memoirs* of his ancestor. 'Lord-Keeper' Finch was the impracticable Speaker who brought about the abrupt termination of the Parliament of 1628-9. This fact suggests what must have been one of the most canvassed topics at this Cambridge election contest.

that time he did nothing but ruminat and meditate of the man and his gifts. This Richard Tyms, before the writs were issued out (in which time he had opportunity of hearing Oliver once and again), began to hammer in his head a project of getting him chosen a burgess for Cambridge, himself being then but one of the 24; and with this device he presently repaired to one Mr. Wildbore, a draper, a kinsman of Cromwell's, and a Nonconformist likewise; and after some commendatory language of Oliver, propounded to him the choosing of him burgess. To which Wildbore answered, that it was impossible, because he was no freeman of the town. This almost dashed the project; notwithstanding, as he was returning home, his mind gave him to ask the advice of his neighbour *Ibbot*, a tallow-chandler, whom he found working in his frock, and who gave him the same answer; and thereupon Tyms concluded to surcease the design, and departed. But, before he was far from the house, *Ibbot*, hankering after the business, had thought of an expedient, and caused him to be called back, when he told him that the mayor had power to make a freeman, and, saith he, you know Mr. Kitchinman the attorney (who was a Puritan likewise), he and the mayor have married two sisters. It is possible he may persuade his brother to confer his freedom upon Mr. Cromwell; and to that purpose you and I and Mr. Wildbore will go to Mr. Kitchinman's presently and speak to him about the business; but the mayor must not know the reason and design of it, for he is a perfect Royalist. Accordingly they three went to Kitchinman's, laid open the worth of Cromwell, and easily engaged him in the plot. The same night he went to the mayor's, by name Alderman French, and finding him at supper, without more ado acquainted him with his business; told him that one Mr. Cromwell had a mind to come and dwell in the town, but first he would be made a freeman; that he was a deserving gentleman, and that he would be an honour and support to the town, which was full of poor, and many more good-morrows. To which the mayor answered, that he was sorry he could not comply with his desires, for he had engaged his freedom already to the king's fisherman, and could not recede from his word. Whereto Kitchinman pre-

sently replied: ' Brother, do you give your freedom to Mr. Cromwell, I'll warrant and take upon me that the town shall give a freedom to the said fisherman; and with some other words persuaded the unwary mayor to consent. All this while Cromwell was utterly ignorant what had been transacted at Cambridge; but now Tyms sent him word, that in order to make him a burgess, he with his party had procured a freedom from the mayor; that therefore he should not fail to be there the next court-day. This message Cromwell received with a like gladness and wonder; and not to be wanting to the industry and zeal of the faction, came privately to Cambridge the day before, and took up his lodging at one Almond's, a grocer. Next day the court being set, the mayor rose up, as the manner is, and declared that he had conferred his freedom upon a right worthy gentleman, Mr. Cromwell, using the same character of him which he had received from Kitchinman: and hereupon a mace was sent to bring Cromwell into the court, who came thither in a scarlet coat laid with a broad gold lace, and was there seated, then sworn and saluted by the mayor, aldermen, and the rest with ' Welcome, brother!' In the meantime Cromwell had caused a good quantity of wine to be brought into the town-house (with some confectionary-stuff), which was liberally filled out, and as liberally taken of, to the warming of most of their noddles; when Tyms and the other three spread themselves among the company and whispered into their ears, ' Would not this man make a brave burgess for the ensuing Parliament?' Which being stilled in with the merry juice, gratis and plentifully given them, could not but have a kind operation in the next occasion; and a fortnight after another common-hall was called for the said election of burgesses, where was first named Mr. Lowry, who carried it by the general suffrage; after him one Mr. Mutis, a counsellor, and he had the votes of a great many, all of them Royalists; lastly, our Oliver was named, and the faction bawled as if they were mad, and by plurality of voices carried it clear from Mr. Mutis. When the mayor now perceived the jig, and how Kitchinman had fooled him, he could have pulled the hair off his head; but the thing was remediless, he was

legally chosen, for the faction had brought men thither that had left off their gowns for thirty years together.' With respect to this story of Heath's, it seems that he is correct in asserting that the mayor gave his freedom to Oliver, for in the common-place book of the Corporation we read, that 'On Tuesday, the 7th of January, 1639 [*i. e.* 1640], Oliver Cromwell, of *Huntingdon*, in the county of Huntingdon, Esq., on the presentation of the mayor of the town, according to the ancient custom recognised in the said town, hath the freedom of the said town gratis, on payment of 1*d.* to the poor; and is sworn in.' Here, however, Heath's story should have terminated, for it is equally certain that his account of the deception practised on the mayor is untrue. It will be seen that he has confounded together the Parliaments of April and November, 1640, and this alone would throw a doubt on his story. But it is clear that the mayor (particularly if a Royalist) must have been well acquainted with the name of Sir Oliver Cromwell of Hinchinbrook: for the Cambridge corporation and university went thither on more than one occasion to present addresses to James and Charles. The name of his nephew must at once have recalled to the mayor's mind that the candidate for the freedom of the town was the Puritan member for Huntingdon in the last Parliament; so that it is absurd to suppose that the mayor should know nothing about him. Nearly four months elapsed between the conferral of the freedom and the election made to the Parliament of April; so that the plan can hardly be said to have been a very feasible one, if the mayor were not expected to remain with his eyes closed and ears shut to all that passed around him during that interval. On the 25th of March we find that 'Thomas French, gentleman, *was* mayor; but the burgesses returned to Parliament were *Thomas Meautys*, Esq., and Oliver Cromwell, Esq., so that the mayor's candidate was *not* thrown out. At the election to the Long Parliament, on October 27th, 1640, Oliver Cromwell, Esq., and John Lowry, of the common council, were returned; but the mayor was then a 'Mr. Robson,' and of course Alderman French could not then be *deceived*, as Cromwell had already represented Cambridge in one Parliament.

Another story quite at variance with the last, is told in a *Life of John Cleaveland*, the poet. It is said, 'He was at the time of Oliver's election tutor of St. John's College in Cambridge, and then of considerable influence, which he used in strenuously opposing Oliver's election, which was obtained *by a single vote*. Cleaveland seeing this, said with much patriotic zeal, 'That single vote had ruined church and kingdom!'' This bears on the face of it all the marks of an invention of later years, and certainly does not agree with Heath's story, that Oliver's election was by a plurality of voices carried clear against Mr. Meautys. If it were not that they have been repeated so often, and arguments even founded upon them in modern biographies of Oliver, neither of these stories would merit a moment's attention.

With his return to the Long Parliament the history of Oliver Cromwell's early life properly ends. Henceforward his career becomes identified with the great struggle in which he had already taken some share; until from the private gentleman of Huntingdon and Ely he rises into the Lord Protector of the three sister kingdoms.

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V.

CONSTITUTIONAL RETURNS TO THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

THE following list of the returns to the Long Parliament under authority of the great seal (November, 1640—May, 1642), is based on the lists in Rushworth, Browne Willis (*Notitia Parliamentaria*), and the parliamentary histories. But, as these are all incorrect or imperfect in some respects, they have been frequently amended and completed from the *Journals of the House of Commons*, various lists, published by the clerks of the Parliament at different eras of its existence, and other similar sources. No alterations, however, have been adopted without the strongest authority. The same may be said of the subsequent parliamentary lists in this volume. The accounts are still defective; and these defects have been carefully noted, so that the attention of future students may be at once directed to them.

In this first general list the reader has before him the Parliament which met Charles I. in November, 1640, with the changes in the representation down to the month of May, 1642, when the flight of Lord-Keeper Littleton to the king with the great seal prevented any more 'constitutional' writs issuing for the election of new members. In August, 1645, and thenceforward through the succeeding years, Parliament sent out new writs in the king's name, but by virtue of its own authority. These were, of course, strictly speaking, 'unconstitutional' returns; and stand on a different footing from those which were made under writs issued before the Lord-Keeper's flight.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT,

ASSEMBLED NOVEMBER, 1640.

(All who have *not* this mark * attached to their names, sat in the Parliament of April, 1640. N.W. New writ issued. Within []. Title subsequent to their election.)

BEDFORDSHIRE (2).

Sir Oliver Luke.

Thomas Lord Wentworth.

*— Burgin.

Three members returned; on committee Mr. Burgin unseated,
Dec. 5.

Dec. 5. N.W. *vice* Lord Wentworth, created a peer.

*Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart.

BEDFORD (2).

Sir Beauchamp St. John.

Sir Samuel Luke.

BERKSHIRE (2).

Henry Marten.

John Fettiplace.

ABINGDON (1).

*Sir George Stonehouse, Bart.

NEW WINDSOR (2).

*Sir Thomas Roe.

*Thomas Waller.

On petition both unseated Dec. 8.
N.W. Dec. 12.

*Cornelius Holland.

*William Taylor.

May 27, 1641, William Taylor
expelled. N.W.

*Richard Winwood.

READING (2).

Sir Francis Knowles.

Sir Francis Knowles, jun.

WALLINGFORD (2).

Edmund Dunch.

*Anthony Barker.

On petition both unseated, Feb.
15, 1641. N.W.

Edmund Dunch.

*Thomas Howard.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (2).

John Hampden.

Arthur Goodwin.

AMERSHAM (2).

Sir William Drake.

*William Cheyne.

On death of Mr. Cheyne, N.W.
April 30, 1641.

*Francis Drake.

AYLESBURY (2).

Sir Ralph Verney.

Sir John Packington, Bart.

BUCKINGHAM (2).

Sir Peter Temple, Bart.

Sir Alexander Denton.

MARLOW (2).

*Peregrine Hobby.

*Gabriel Hippeley.

*John Borlase.

Three members returned.

On petition election declared void.
N.W. Nov. 19.

*Bulstrode Whitelocke.

*Peregrine Hobby.

*John Borlase.

Three members again returned.

On petition, Jan. 5, 1641, Mr.
Borlase unseated.

WENDOVER (2).

John Hampden.

Sir Robert Crooke.

On Mr. Hampden electing to sit
for the county, N.W. Dec. 8.

* Thomas Fountaine.

WYCOMBE (2).

Thomas Lane.

Sir Edmund Verney, Knt.-
Marshal.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE (2).
1st writ not properly issued. n.w.
Nov. 6.

Sir Dudley North, Bart.
*Thomas Chichley.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY (2).
Henry Lucas.
Thomas Eden, LL.D.

CAMBRIDGE (2).
Oliver Cromwell.
*John Lowry.

CHESHIRE (2).
Sir William Brereton, Bart.
*Peter Venables.

CHESTER (2).
[Sir] Thomas Smith.
*Francis Gamul.

CORNWALL (2).
Sir Bevill Grenville.
*Sir Alexander Carew.

BODMIN (2).
Anthony Nicoll.
*John Arundell.

BOSSINEY (2).
*Sir Christopher Yelverton.
*Sir John Clotworthy, Bart.
*Sir Charles Herbert.

Three members returned. In committee of privileges election declared void, and n.w. Feb. 15, 1641.

*Sir Christopher Yelverton.
*Sir Ralph Sydenham.

CAMELFORD (2).
Piers Edgecumbe.
*William Glanville.

EAST-LOOE (2).
Francis Buller.
*Thomas Lower.

FOWEY (2).
Sir Richard Buller.
*Henry Rainsford.

On petition election declared void, and n.w. Nov. 20.
Sir Richard Buller.
Jonathan Rashleigh.

GRAMPOUND (2).
*Sir John Trevor.
*James Campbell.

HELSTONE (2).
Sidney Godolphin.
*Francis Godolphin.

KELLINGTON (2).
Sir Arthur Ingram.
*George Vane.

LAUNCESTON (2).
William Coryton.
Ambrose Manaton.

On petition Mr. Coryton unseated, n.w. August 18, 1641.
John Harris.

LISKEARD (2).
John Harris (of Ratford).
*Joseph Jane.

LOSTWITHIEL (2).
John Trevanion.
Richard Arundell.

NEWPORT (2).
John Maynard.
*Richard Edgecumbe.

Mr. Maynard elected to sit for Totness, and n.w. Dec. 8; but no return made, and seat remained vacant till 1647.

PENRYN (2).
Sir Nicholas Slanning.
*Sir John Bampfylde, Bart.

ST. GERMANS (2).
*Benjamin Valentyne.
*John Moyle, jun.

ST. IVES (2).
Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle.
*Francis Godolphin.

On Lord Lisle electing to sit for Yarmouth (I. of W.), n.w. Nov. 9.
Edmund Waller.

ST. MAWES (2).
George Parry, LL.D.
*Richard Erisey.

ST. MICHAELS (2).

Robert Holborne.

*John Arundell.

On Mr. Arundell electing to sit
for Bodmin, n.w. Nov. 9.

*William Chadwell.

SALTASH (2).

George Buller.

Edward Hyde.

TREGONY (2).

Sir Richard Vyvyan.

*John Polewhele.

TRURO (2).

John Rolle.

Francis Rouse.

WEST-LOOE (2).

*Henry Killebrew.

*Thomas Arundell.

CUMBERLAND (2).

Sir George Dalston.

Sir Patricius Curwen, Bart.

CARLISLE (2).

Sir William Dalston, Bart.

*Richard Barwis.

COCKERMOUTH (2).This borough restored to its old
privilege of sending members,
Feb. 15, 1641.

Sir John Fenwicke.

*Sir John Hippsley.

On Sir John Fenwicke electing to
sit for Northumberland, n.w.
Feb. 5, 1642.*Sir Thomas Stamford, or Sand-
ford, Bart.Returned by sheriff contrary to
the return made to him by the
bailiff of the borough, of

*Alderman Francis Allein,

Who was declared duly elected
Dec. 1645.**DERBYSHIRE (2).**

Sir John Curzon, Bart.

*Sir John Coke.

DERBY (2).

William Allestree, Recorder.

Alderman Nathaniel Hallowes.

Election declared void March 25,
1641; but on n.w. they were
re-chosen.**DEVONSHIRE (2).**

Thomas Wise.

Edward Seymour.

On death of Mr. Wise, n.w.
March 20, 1641.

Sir Samuel Rolle.

ASHBURTON (2).This borough restored to its old
privilege of sending members,
Nov. 26.

*Sir Edmond Fowell.

*Sir John Northcote, Bart.

BARNSTAPLE (2).

George Peard.

*Richard Ferrers.

On petition Mr. Ferrers unseated,
August 6, 1641; but on n.w.
re-chosen.**BEBALSTONE (2).**

Sir Thomas Cheeke.

William Strode.

On Sir T. Cheeke electing to sit
for Harwich, n.w. Nov. 9.

*[Sir] Hugh Pollard.

On Sir H. Pollard being expelled,
n.w. Dec. 9, 1641.

*Charles Pym.

**CLIFTON, DARTMOUTH, AND
HARDNESS (2).**

*Samuel Browne.

*Arthur Upton.

On death of Mr. Upton, n.w. Oct.
20, 1641,

*Roger Matthews.

EXETER (2).

Simon Snow.

Robert Walker.

HONITON (2).

This borough restored to its old privilege of sending members, Nov. 26.

*Sir William Pole.

*Walter Young.

ORRHAMPTON (2).

*Edward Thomas.

*Lawrence Whitaker.

PLYMOUTH (2).

Robert Trelawny.

*Sir John Young.

On Mr. Trelawny being disabled, n.w. March 9, 1642.

John Whaddon.

PLYMPTON (2).

Michael Oldesworth.

Sir Nicholas Slanning.

On Mr. Oldesworth electing to sit for Salisbury, n.w. Nov. 9.

Hugh Potter.

Sir N. Slanning elected to sit for Penryn; but no n.w. issued till 1646.

TAVISTOCK (2).

John Pym.

William Lord Russell.

On Lord Russell becoming Earl of Bedford, n.w. May 24, 1641.

*John Russell.

TIVERTON (2).

Peter St. Hill.

*George Hartnoll.

TOTNESS (2).

John Maynard.

Oliver St. John.

DORSETSHIRE (2).

George Lord Digby.

Richard Rogers.

On Lord Digby being called up to House of Lords, n.w. June 10, 1641.

*John Browne.

BRIDPORT (2).

Roger Hill.

Giles Strangways.

CORFE-CASTLE (2).

John Borlase.†

Sir Francis Windebank.

On flight and expulsion of Sir F.

Windebank, n.w. Dec. 17.

Giles Green.†

DORCHESTER (2).

Dennis Bond.

Denzil Holles.

LYME-REGIS (2).

Edmund Prideaux.

Richard Rose.

MELCOMBE-REGIS (2).

Richard King.

*[Sir] Gerard Napper.

POOLE (2).

William Constantine.

*John Pyne.

SHAPTESBURY (2).

Samuel Turner, M.D.

William Whitaker.

WAREHAM (2).

Thomas Erle.

John Trenchard.

[Mr. Erle seems not to have been returned by mayor at first; but on petition, Feb. 1, 1641, was declared duly elected.]

WEYMOUTH (2).

Sir Walter Erle.

Sir John Strangways.

ESSEX (2).

*Sir Martin Lumley, Bart.

*Robert Lord Rich.

On Lord Rich being called up to House of Peers, n.w. Jan. 27, 1641.

Sir William Masham, Bart.

† Query, whether Mr. Borlase or Mr. Green was originally returned?

COLCHESTER (2).

Sir Thomas Barrington, Bart.
Harbottle Grimstone.

HARWICH (2).

Sir Thomas Cheeke.
Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Bart.

MALDEN (2).

Sir Henry Mildmay.
*Sir John Clotworthy.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE (2).

*John Dutton.
*Nathaniel Stephens.

CIRENCESTER (2).

John George.
*Sir Theobald Gorges.

GLOUCESTER (2).

Henry Brett.
*Alderman Thomas Pury.

TWICKESBURY (2).

Sir Edward Alford.
Sir Robert Cooke.
*John Craven.
*Edward Stephens.

Four members returned; in committee election declared void;
n.w. August 6, 1641.

Sir Edward Alford.
Sir Robert Cooke.

On petition Sir E. Alford unseated
Dec. 25, 1643, and in his place
declared duly elected

*Edward Stephens.

HEREFORDSHIRE (2).

Sir Robert Harley, K.C.B.
*Fitzwilliams Coningsby.

On Mr. Coningsby being expelled
as a monopolist, n.w. Oct. 30,
1641.

*Humphrey Coningsby.

HEREFORD (2).

Richard Seabourne.
Richard Weaver.

On death of Mr. Weaver, n.w.
May 23, 1642.

*James Scudamore.

LEOMINSTER (2).

Walter Kirle.
*Serjt. Sampson Eure or Ewers.

WROBLY (2).

William Tomkins.
*Arthur Jones [Viscount Ranelagh].

On death of Mr. W. Tomkins,
n.w. Jan. 2, 1641.

Thomas Tomkins.

HERTFORDSHIRE (2).

Arthur Capel.
Sir William Lytton.

On Mr. Capel being created a
Peer, n.w. August 7, 1641.

*Sir Thomas Dacres.

HERTFORD (2).

Charles Cecil, Viscount Cranbourne.
Sir Thomas Fanshawe, K.C.B.

ST. ALBAN'S (2).

Sir John Jenyns.
*Edward Wingate.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2).

*Sir Sidney Montagu.
*Valentine Walton.

HUNTINGDON (2).

*Edward Montagu.
*George Montagu.

KENT (2).

Sir John Culpeper.
*Sir Edward Deering, Bart.

On Sir E. Deering being disabled,
n.w. Feb. 2, 1642.

*Augustine Skynner.

CANTERBURY (2).

Sir Edward Masters.
John Nutt.

MAIDSTONE (2).

Sir Francis Barnham.
*Sir Humphrey Tufton.

QUEENBOROUGH (2).

Sir Edward Hales, Bart.
*William Harrison.

ROCHESTER (2).

Sir Thomas Walsingham.

*Richard Lee.

LANCASHIRE (2).

Roger Kirkby.

*Sir Ralph Ashton, Bart.

CLITHEROE (2).

Ralph Ashton.

Richard Shuttleworth, jun.

LANCASTER (2).

Sir John Harrison.

*Sir Thomas Fanshawe.

LIVERPOOL (2).

Sir Richard Wynn, Bart.

*John More.

NEWTON (2).

*William Ashurst.

*Peter Legh.

On death of Mr. Legh, n.w. Feb.
4, 1642.

*Sir Roger Palmer.

PRESTON (2).

Richard Shuttleworth.

Thomas Standish.

WIGAN (2).

Orlando Bridgeman.

Alexander Rugby.

LEICESTERSHIRE (2).

Henry De Grey, Lord Grey De
Ruthyn.

Sir Arthur Hesilrige, Bart.

LEICESTER (2).

Thomas Coke.

*Thomas Lord Grey of Groby.

LINCOLNSHIRE (2).

Sir John Wray, Bart.

*Sir Edward Ayscough.

BOSTON (2).

William Ellis.

Sir Anthony Irby.

GRANTHAM (2).

Henry Pelham.

*Sir William Armyne, Bart.

GREAT GRIMSBY (2).

Gervase Holles.

Sir Christopher Wray.

LINCOLN (2).

Thomas Grantham.

*John Broxholme.

STAMFORD (2).

Thomas Hatcher.

*Geoffrey Palmer.

MIDDLESEX (2).

Sir John Franklyn.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bart.

LONDON (4).

Matthew Cradock.

Isaac Pennington.

Sir Thomas Soame.

Samuel Vassall.

On death of Mr. Cradock, n.w.

May 28, 1641.

*Captain John Venne.

WESTMINSTER (2).

William Bell.

John Glynne.

MONMOUTHSHIRE (2).

*William Herbert.

*Sir Charles Williams.

On death of Sir C. Williams, n.w.

March 19, 1642.

*Henry Herbert.

MONMOUTH (2).

*Thomas Trevor.

*William Watkins.

Mr. Watkins disabled as a mono-
polist, Nov. 16, 1640.The election declared void, Nov.
29, 1644.

NORFOLK (2).

Sir Edward Mountford.

*[Sir] John Potts, [Bart.]

CASTLE-RISING (2).

Sir Christopher Hatton.

Sir John Holland, Bart.

On Sir C. Hatton electing to sit for
Higham-Ferrers, n.w. Nov. 9.

*Sir Robert Hatton.

LYNN-REGIS (2).

*John Percival.

*Thomas Toll.

NORWICH (2).

Thomas Tooley.

*Richard Catalyn.

*Richard Harman.

Three members returned; on committee, Nov. 7, 1640, Mr. Tooley unseated.

THETFORD (2).

Framlingham Gawdy.

Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Bart.

YARMOUTH (2).

Miles Corbett.

Edward Owner.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (2).

Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart.

*Sir John Dryden, Bart.

BRACKLEY (2).

John Crewe.

*Sir Martin Lyster.

HIGHAM-FERRARS (1).

Sir Christopher Hatton.

NORTHAMPTON (2).

Richard Knightley.

Zouch Tate.

PETERBOROUGH (2).

William Fitz-Williams.

*Sir Robert Napier, Bart.

*George Vane.

Three members returned; on committee, Feb. 4, 1641, Mr. Vane unseated.

NORTHUMBERLAND (2).

Henry Percy.

[Sir] William Widdrington,
[Bart.].

On Mr. Percy being expelled,
n.w. Dec. 9, 1641.

Sir John Fenwicke.

BERWICK (2).

Sir Edward Osborne, Bart.

Sir Thomas Widdrington.

On petition, Sir E. Osborne unseated, n.w. Dec. 7.

*Robert Scawen.

MORPETH (2).

Sir William Carnaby.

*John Fenwicke.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE (2).

*Sir Henry Anderson.

*Sir John Melton.

On petition, Sir J. Melton (who had previously died) declared unduly elected, and in his place seated, Jan. 30, 1641,—
John Blakiston.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (2).

Sir Thomas Hutchinson.

Robert Sutton.

EAST-RETFOED (2).

Sir Gervase Clifton, Baft.

*Charles Cavendish, Viscount
Mansfield.

NOTTINGHAM (2).

*Gilbert Millington.

*William Stanhope.

OXFORDSHIRE (2).

James Fiennes.

*Thomas Viscount Wenman.

BANBURY (1).

Nathaniel Fiennes.

OXFORD (2).

Chas. Howard, Visct. Andover.

*John Whistler.

On Viscount Andover being summoned to the House of Peers,
n.w. Nov. 18.

*John Smith.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY (2).

*Sir Thomas Roe.

*John Selden.

WOODSTOCK (2).

WILLM. LENTHALL, SPEAKER.

*Willam Herbert.

On Mr. Herbert electing to sit for
Monmouthshire, n.w. Nov. 20.

*Sir Robert Pye.

RUTLAND (2).

Baptist Noel.

Sir Guy Palmes.

SHROPSHIRE (2).

*Sir Richard Lee, Bart.

*Sir Richard Newport.

BISHOP CASTLE (2).

Sir Robert Howard, K.C.B.
Richard Moor.

BRIDGENORTH (2).

[Sir] Edward Acton.
Sir Thomas Whitmore.

LUDLOW (2).

Charles Baldwin.
Ralph Goodwin.

SHREWSBURY (2).

Francis Newport.
*William Spurstow.

GREAT WENLOCK (2).

William Pierrepont.
*Thomas Littleton.

SOMERSET (2).

*Sir John Paulet.
*Sir John Stawell, K.C.B.

BATH (2).

Alexander Popham.
*William Basset.

BRIDGEWATER (2).

Edmund Wyndham.
*Sir Peter Wroth.

On Mr. Wyndham being expelled
as a monopolist, n.w. Jan. 21,
1641.

Thomas Smith.

BRISTOL (2).

Humphrey Hooke.
*Richard Long.

On Mr. Hooke and Mr. Long
being expelled as monopolists,
n.w. May 12, 1642.

SERJEANT JOHN GLANVILLE

[SPEAKER of the Parliament
of April].

*William Taylor.

LICHESTER (2).

Sir Henry Berkeley.
*Robert Hunt.

On petition, both unseated, n.w.
Feb. 15, 1641.

Edward Philips.

*Robert Hunt.

MILBORN-PORT (2).

George Lord Digby.
*John Digby.

On Lord Digby electing to sit for
Dorsetshire, n.w. Nov. 9.

Edward Kirton.

MYNEHEAD (2).

*Alexander Lutterel.
*Sir Francis Popham.

On death of Mr. Lutterel, n.w.
ordered to be issued June 3,
1642; but this being after the
Lord-Keeper's flight, no writ
was issued, and the seat remained
vacant till 1645.

TAUNTON (2).

Sir Wilham Portman, Bart.
*George Searle.

WELLS (2).

Sir Ralph Hopton, K.C.B.
Sir Edward Rodney.

SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE (2).

Sir Henry Wallop.
Richard Whitehead.

ANDOVER (2).

*Sir Henry Rainsford.
*Henry Vernon.

On petition, May 3, 1642, Mr. Ver-
non unseated, and in his place
declared duly elected,—

*Sir William Waller. [The re-
turn was amended May 12,
1642].

On death of Sir H. Rainsford, n.w.
March 31, 1641.

Robert Wallop.

CHRISTCHURCH (2).

Henry Tulse.
*Matthew Davies.

LYMINGTON (2).

*John Button.
*Henry Campion.

NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT (2).

Lucius Carey, Viscount Falk-
land.

Sir Henry Worsley, Bart.

NEWTON (2).

Sir John Meux.

*[Sir] Edward Nicholas.

PETERSFIELD (2).

Sir William Lewis, Bart.

Sir William Uvedale.

PORTSMOUTH (2).

Henry Percy.

*George Goring.

On Mr. Percy electing to sit for

Northumberland, N.W. Nov. 11.

Nicholas Weston.

SOUTHAMPTON (2).

George Gallop.

*Edward Exton.

STOCKBRIDGE (2).

William Heveningham.

William Jephson.

WITCHURCH (2).

Richard Jervoise.

Sir Thomas Jervoise.

WINCHESTER (2).

John Lisle.

Sir William Ogle.

YARMOUTH, ISLE OF WIGHT (2).

Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle.

*Sir John Leigh.

STAFFORDSHIRE (2).

Sir William Bowyer.

Sir Edward Littleton, Bart.

On death of Sir W. Bowyer, N.W.

March 15, 1641.

*Sir Harvey Bagot.

LICHFIELD (2).

Sir Walter Devereux.

*Michael Noble.

On death of Sir W. Devereux,

N.W. July 26, 1641.

*Sir Richard Cave.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYNE (2).

Sir John Meyrick.

*Sir Richard Leveson, K.C.B.

STAFFORD (2).

Ralph Sneyde, Jun.

Richard Weston.

TAMWORTH (2).

William Strode.

*Henry Wilmot.

On Mr. Strode electing to sit for

Beralstone, N.W. Nov. 9.

*Ferdinando Stanhope.

On expulsion of Mr. Wilmot, N.W.

Dec. 9, 1641.

*Sir Peter Wentworth, K.C.B.

SUFFOLK (2).

Sir Nathaniel Barnadiston.

Sir Philip Parker.

ALDBOROUGH (2).

Squire Bence.

Capt. William Rainsborough.

On death of Captain Rainsborough,

N.W. Feb. 14, 1642.

*Alexander Bence.

DUNWICH (2).

Sir Anthony Bedingfield.

Henry Coke.

EYE (2).

Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart.

Sir Roger North.

IPSWICH (2).

William Cage.

John Gourdon.

OXFORD (2).

Sir Charles Le Gross.

*Sir William Playters, Bart.

ST. EDMUNDSBURY (2).

Sir Thomas Jermyn.

*Thomas Jermyn.

SUDBURY (2).

Sir Robert Crane, Bart.

*Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart.

SURREY (2).

Sir Ambrose Brown, Bart.

Sir Richard Onslow.

BLETCHINGLEY (2).

Edward Bysshe, Jun.

*[Sir] John Evelyn.

GATTON (2).

[Sir] Samuel Owfeild.

Edward Sanders.

On petition Nov. 3, 1641, Mr. Sanders unseated, and in his place declared duly elected,—

*Thomas Sandys.

GUILDFORD (2).

George Abbot.

Sir Robert Parkhurst.

HASELMERE (2).

John Goodwyn.

*Sir Poynings More, Bart.

REIGATE (2).

Sir Thomas Bludworth.

*William Viscount Monson.

SOUTHWARK (2).

*Edward Bagshaw.

*John White.

SUSSEX (2).

Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart.

Anthony Stapley.

ARUNDEL (2).

Sir Edward Alford.

Henry Garton.

On death of Mr. Garton, N.W.

Nov. 12, 1641.

*John Downes.

*— Harman.

Two members returned; on petition, Mr. Harman unseated.

BEAMBER (2).

*Sir Edward Bishop.

*Arthur Onslow.

On petition, election declared void, N.W. Dec. 16.

Sir Thomas Bowyer, Bart.

*Arthur Onslow.

CHICHESTER (2).

Christopher Lewkenor.

*Sir William Morley.

EAST-GRINSTEAD (2).

Robert Goodwyn.

*Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst.

HORSHAM (2).

Thomas Middleton.

Hall [or Paul] Ravenscroft.

LEWES (2).

James Rivers,

*Herbert Morley.

On death of Mr. Rivers, N.W.

June 9, 1641.

*Henry Shelley.

MIDHURST (2).

Thomas May.

*Dr. Chaworth.

On petition, Feb. 15, 1641, Dr. Chaworth declared unduly elected, and in his place seated

*William Cawley,

Who was also returned at first, but not by the bailiff. The return amended Feb. 20.

SHOREHAM (2).

John Alford.

William Marlot.

STEYNING (2).

*Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst.

*Thomas Leeds.

On Lord Buckhurst electing to sit for East-Grinstead, N.W. Nov. 9.

Sir Thomas Fernfold.

WARWICKSHIRE (2).

*Edward Combe.

*James Lord Compton.

On petition, election declared void, N.W. Dec. 29.

*James Lord Compton.

*Richard Shuckburgh.

COVENTRY (2).

Alderman Simon Norton.

*Alderman John Barker.

On death of Alderman Norton, N.W. July 12, 1641.

Alderman William Jesson.

WARWICK (2).

Sir Thomas Lucy.

William Purfoy.

On death of Sir T. Lucy, N.W.

Dec. 17.

Godfrey Bosseville.

WESTMORELAND (2).

Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart.

Sir Philip Musgrave, Bart.

APPLEBY (2).Richard Boyle, Viscount Dun-
garvon.

*Sir John Brooke.

WILTSHIRE (2).

*Sir Henry Ludlowe.

*Sir James Thynne.

BEDWIN (2).

Sir Richard Harding.

*Sir Walter Smith.

CALNE (2).

*George Low.

*Hugh Rogers.

CHIPPENHAM (2).

Sir Edward Baynton.

Sir Edw. Hungerford, K.C.B.

CRICKLODE (2).

Thomas Hodges.

Robert Jenner.

DEVIZES (2).

Edward Baynton.

*Serjeant Robert Nichols.

DOWNTON (2).

Sir Edward Griffith.

*Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Bt.

*Alexander Thistlethwaite.

Three members returned; only the two latter returns disputed, but the election not decided till January 7, 1660, when Sir A. Ashley-Cooper was declared duly elected.

HEYTESBURY (2).

Thomas Moor.

*Edward Ashe.

HINDON (2).

Sir Miles Fleetwood.

*Robert Reynolds.

On death of Sir M. Fleetwood,
N.W. April 8, 1641.

*Thomas Bennet.

LUDGESHALL (2).

[Col.] William Ashburnham.

Sir John Evelyn.

On expulsion of Col. Ashburnham,
N.W. Dec. 9, 1641.

*Walter Long.

MALMESBURY (2).

Anthony Hungerford.

Sir Nevil Poole.

MARLBOROUGH (2).

Sir Francis Seymour.

*John Franklin.

On Sir F. Seymour being created
a peer, N.W. Feb. 25, 1641.

*Philip Smith.

OLD SARUM (2).

Edward Herbert.

*Robert Cecil.

On Mr. Herbert becoming Attor-
ney-General, N.W. Jan. 29, 1641.

Sir William Saville, Bart.

WESTBURY (2).

John Ashe.

*William Wheeler.

WILTON (2).

Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

Sir Henry Vane.

WOOTTON-BASSET (2).

*William Pleydall.

*Edward Poole.

WORCESTERSHIRE (2).

Serjeant John Wylde.

*Humphrey Salwey.

BEWDLEY (1).

Sir Henry Herbert.

DROITWICH (2).

Samuel Sandys.

*Endymion Porter.

EVESHAM (2).

William Sandys.

*John Coventry.

*Serjeant Richard Creswell.

Three members returned; in committee, Mr. Coventry unseated.
On Mr. Sandys being disabled as a monopolist, N.W. Jan. 21, 1641.

*John Coventry.

WORCESTER (2).

John Cowcher.

John Nash.

YORKSHIRE (2).

Henry Bellasis.

Ferdinando Lord Fairfax.

ALDBOROUGH (2).

Richard Aldborough.

[Sir] Robert Strickland.

BEVERLEY (2).

Sir John Hotham, Bart.

Michael Wharton.

BOROUGHBRIDGE (2).

[Sir] Philip Stapylton.

*[Sir] Thos. Mauleverer, [Bart.].

HEYDON (2).

John Alured.

*Sir William Strickland.

KINGSTON-ON-HULL (2).

Sir John Lister.

Sir Henry Vane, Jun.

On death of Sir J. Lister, N.W.
Dec. 29.

*Peregrine Pelham.

KNABESBOROUGH (2).

Henry Benson.

Sir Henry Shingsby, Bart.

On Mr. Benson being expelled,
N.W. Nov. 2, 1641.

*Sir William Constable, Bart.

*William Deerlove.

Double return; in committee,
March 19, 1642, Mr. Deerlove
unseated.

MALTON (2).

This borough restored to privilege
of sending members, Dec. 11.

*Thomas Heblethwaite.

*John Wastell.

NORTH ALLESTON (2).

This borough restored to privilege
of sending members, Dec. 11.

Sir John Ramsden.

Sir Henry Cholmeley.

PONTEFRAC T (2).

Sir Geo. Wentworth of Went-
worth-Woodhouse.

*Sir Geo. Wentworth of Wooley.

RICHMOND (2).

Sir Wm. Pennyman, Bart.

*Sir Thomas Danby.

RIPON (2).

William Mallory.

*[Sir] John Mallory.

SCARBOROUGH (2).

Sir Hugh Cholmeley.

John Hotham.

THIRSK (2).

John Bellasis.

*Sir Thomas Ingram.

YORK (2).

*Sir William Allanson.

*Alderman Thomas Hoyle.

CINQUE PORTS.**DOVER, KENT (2).**

Sir Edward Boys.

Sir Peter Heyman.

On death of Sir Peter Heyman,
N.W. Feb. 10, 1641.

*Benjamin Weston.

HASTINGS, SUSSEX (2).

*John Ashburnham.

*[Sir] Thomas Eversfield.

HYTHER, KENT (2).

Sir Henry Heyman, Bart.

*John Harvey.

ROMNEY, SUSSEX (2).

*Philip Warwick.

*Thomas Webb.

On Mr. Warwick electing to sit
for Radnor, N.W. Nov. 7.

Sir Norton Knatchbull, Bart.

On Mr. Webb being disabled as a
monopolist, N.W. Jan. 21, and
March 8, 1641.

*Richard Browne.

RYE, SUSSEX (2).

Sir John Jacob.

John White.

On Sir J. Jacob being disabled as a
monopolist, N.W. Jan. 21, 1641.

*William Hay.

SANDWICH, KENT (2).

*Sir Edward Parteriche, Bart.

*Sir Thomas Peyton, Bart.

SEAFORD, SUSSEX (2).

*Francis Gerrard.

*Sir Thomas Parker.

WINCHELSEA, SUSSEX (2).

Sir Nicholas Crispe.

[Sir] John Finch.

On Sir N. Crispe being disabled
as a monopolist, N.W. Feb. 2,
1641.

*William Smith.

WALES.**ANGLESEA (1).**

John Bodville.

BEAUMARIS (1).

*John Griffith.

BRECONSHIRE (1).

William Morgan.

BRECON (1).

Herbert Price.

*Robert Williams.

Double return; in committee Mr.
Williams unseated.**CARDIGANSHIRE (1).**

*Walter Lloyd.

CARDIGAN (1).

John Vaughan.

CAEMARTHENSHIRE (1).

Sir Henry Vaughan.

CAEMARTHEN (1).

Francis Lloyd.

CARNARVONSHIRE (1).The first writ not attended to by
the high sheriff, N.W. Nov. 10.

*John Griffith, Jun.

CARNARVON (1).The first writ not attended to by
the high sheriff, N.W. Nov. 10.

*William Thomas.

DENBIGHSHIRE (1).

*Sir Thomas Middleton.

DENBIGH (1).

*Simon Theloall, Jun.

FLINTSHIRE (1).

John Mostyn.

FLINT (1).

John Salisbury, Jun.

GLAMORGANSHIRE (1).

Philip Lord Herbert.

CARDIFF (1).

William Herbert.

MERIONETHSHIRE (1).

*William Price.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE (1).

*Sir John Price, Bart.

MONTGOMERY (1).

Sir Richard Herbert.

PEMBROKESHIRE (1).

John Wogan.

HAVERFORDWEST (1).

Sir John Stepney, Bart.

PEMBROKE (1).

[Sir] Hugh Owen.

RADNORSHIRE (1).

Charles Price.

*Arthur Annesley.

Double return; in committee, Mr.
Annesley unseated.**RADNOR (1).**

*Philip Warwick.

